

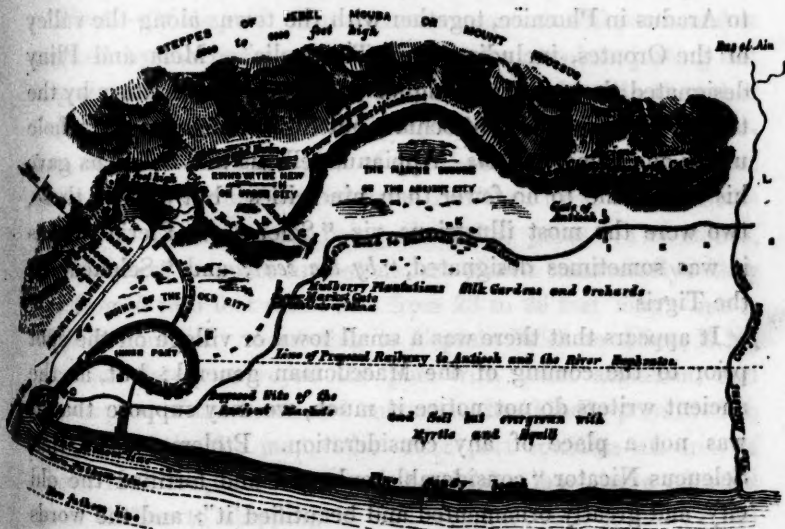
THE MUSEUM OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

No. VI.—JUNE 1862.

VIII.

ON THE ANCIENT CITY AND PORT OF SELEUCIA PIERIA.

FROM OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING A RESIDENCE AT SUEIDIAH
IN THE YEARS 1846 TO 1849.



Plan of the ancient City of Seleucia Pieria. By William Holt Yates, M.D.
The Survey of the Port by Capt. William Allen, R.N. 1860.

THE Bay of Antioch extends between the Ras-el-Khansyr and Cape Posideum, a distance, from point to point, of about twenty miles. The Valley of Suediah occupies the hollow or centre of the bay, beginning at the base of Jebel Akrah, or Mount Casius, (a picturesque mountain, which tapers to the height of about six thousand feet,) and terminating at the

ancient port and city of Seleucia, where Mount Rhossus, or Jebel Moosa, an arm of the Amanus range, reaches the sea. It is in latitude $36^{\circ} 3' N.$, longitude $35^{\circ} 59' E.$, and includes the beautiful valley of the Lower Orontes, which, after collecting the water from the Vale of Hamath and the Toorkoman plains, here falls into the Mediterranean.

The city of Seleucia derived its name from Seleucus, its founder, who, at the death of Alexander the Great, obtained Syria for a possession, and established the dynasty of the Seleucidæ. According to Strabo,* Pliny,† Ptolemy,‡ and other ancient writers,§ “Seleucis in Pieria” comprised the whole of the maritime portion of the north of Syria, from the Gulf of Scanderoon to Aradus in Phœnice, together with the towns along the valley of the Orontes, including the “Tetrapolis”. Mela and Pliny designated the upper and higher portions of the territory by the terms “Pieria” and “Antiochia”; but Strabo includes the whole under one name, *Seleucis*. Appianus tells us that Seleucus gave his own name to no fewer than nine cities; but that of these, two were the most illustrious, viz. “Seleucia in Pieria”, or, as it was sometimes designated, “*by the sea*”; and “Seleucia on the Tigris”.

It appears that there was a small town or village on the spot prior to the coming of the Macedonian general; but, as the ancient writers do not notice it much, we may suppose that it was not a place of any consideration. Ptolemy states that Seleucus Nicator “considerably enlarged and fortified the old city, and greatly ornamented and beautified it”; and the words of Strabo are remarkable: he writes, “the city of Seleucia, which was before *rivers of water*, now became exquisitely beautiful and impregnable”. He also relates, at page 517, that “Pompey made it a free city”; and the fact is illustrated by the

* Strabo, lib. xvi, p. 516.

† Pliny, lib. v, cap. xxi, xxii, and xxiii.

‡ Ptolemy, lib. v, cap. xv.

§ Eusebius, lib. vi; Hist. Eccles., cap. xii; Cicero, lib. v; Attic. Epist., xx; etc.

inscriptions on some of the coins of the period; as is also the fact, that "Seleucia by the sea" was regarded as "holy", because "the oracle was there answered by thunder, in token of the divine approbation,—the thunder being, as it were, consecrated of the gods";* which Spanheim (p. 393) has attempted to confirm by reference to the coins of Seleucia, on some of which the winged thunderbolt appears. Moreover, Jupiter was especially worshipped on Mount Casius, which illustrates the cognomen, "Jupiter Casius", as recorded by coins of the time of Trajan.† But the space allotted me in this paper compels me to pass over the historical part of the subject. I must confine myself chiefly to the topography and antiquities.

First,—Of the port. The entrance measures 240 paces, and is marked by the remains of two fine moles, or piers, jutting out into the sea; that to the north is much dilapidated; the other (which has been called after the apostle Paul, in contra-distinction to its fellow, the pier of St. Barnabas,) is, for the most part, sound. It runs west 80 paces, and then turns to the north-west; the entire length being about 120 paces. The stones, which are of compact lime-stone, are placed transversely; they are from 5 to 6 feet wide, and from 23 to 26 feet long; one is 29 feet 4 inches. According to Captain William Allen, R.N., who has lately surveyed the port with great attention, and whose plan of the basin and culvert he has kindly permitted to be inserted in the map, "the outer port contains an area of about 18,000 square feet", and, he thinks, must have afforded good shelter to shipping in bad weather; but it is now obstructed by sand to the depth of at most eighteen feet. The lower port, or basin, is shaped like a pear, or retort, and must have been entirely excavated. It is entered by a canal of a thousand feet, having at its mouth two large rocks: one of these contains an excavated chamber, probably used as a guard-room

* Appianus Syriacis, p. 202.

† Caracalla apud Patinum, p. 304; Severus, p. 282.

or toll-house (c); on the other, there is now a white house, of modern construction; but it is probable that, in ancient times, there was a watch-tower or fort on each rock. A short distance within the channel, on the left hand, is another square recess, or chamber (b), also cut in the rock. The basin itself, Captain Allen estimates at 2,000 feet in length, and 1,200 feet in its widest part. He considers that it occupies an area of 47 acres, and that it is, consequently, as large as the export and import basins of our East and West India docks put together. The inclosure is still surrounded by strong walls: that on the eastern side is of more modern date, at least the upper portion of it; that on the western side, judging from its appearance, and the size of the stones, (some of which consist of blocks not less than 14 and 15 feet long, and deep in proportion,) is entirely ancient. It is quite sound, except in one place, where it has been intentionally broken through in order to form a drain for the basin; and it is not unlikely that, originally, there may have been here a sliding-door, or sluice-gate, similar to what the natives still employ in the present day.

This wall, which looks seaward, is not equal in thickness: some portions project, as if they had been surmounted by towers for the defence of the harbour. One of these (d) is still 20 feet above the level of the water. There is a gradual rise from the basin, on the land side, to the cliffs above; the highest point of the hill, viz. that towards the south-east, attaining an elevation of about 200 feet, the ridge throughout the entire length being bounded by lofty rocks, through which Seleucus cut the tunnel or culvert to be described presently. From this point another double range of lime-stone cliffs, also 200 feet in height, turns off abruptly in the opposite direction, and, running down towards the "Royal Gate" (e), leaves a space of perhaps half a mile between it and the southern rounded end, or body of the basin, the whole of which is inclosed by immensely strong walls of enormous blocks of stone, constituting a line of formidable defences. Near to where the walls join

the extremity of the cliffs, stood the "South", or, as I imagine, the "Market Gate", which was defended by two towers. The whole of this rising ground inclosed as I have described by these fortifications the south-east and eastern margins of the basin, the line of the culvert, from the outer port upwards to its termination, and the entire margin of the cliffs, down to the "South Gate", comprised the site of the *most ancient* part of the city, that which Seleucus found on his arrival in the country. It may therefore be styled the "*old town*", alluded to by the ancient writers as subject to continual inundations from the ravines above; and which, before the culvert was formed, collected all the waters from the adjacent heights. The whole of this inclosure is strewn with the remains of buildings, interspersed with mulberry-trees, vines, olive, fig, myrtle, and orange trees.

On the eastern side of the basin, to seaward, opposite the drain, and in a direct line with the mouth of the channel which leads from the inner to the outer port, is the entrance to a canal, or back-water, which, bringing a mass of water from the heights above, with a fall of 200 feet, would obviously afford effectual means of clearing out the basin when required. A little to the south of it are some ruins (x), which, as they also command the mouth of the basin, I suppose to have been the arsenal, which was, no doubt, well defended. There are several other dilapidated buildings; and a large vault, conveniently situated for stores, is open to view. No doubt there are many others near it, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the eastern quay; for we cannot imagine that the master-mind which could contrive and excavate the basin and culvert, would be so indifferent to the wants of the people as to neglect the construction of vaults and magazines.

A little to the south of the arsenal buildings, a portion of the hill has been levelled, to the extent of about 500 or 600 feet, at right angles with the basin. It has a tessellated pavement; it has evidently been executed with great care,

and is strengthened by a well-constructed wall. It is not the place for a palace; for this was clearly the business district of Seleucia. The aristocracy inhabited the upper or new city, built by Seleucus. What, then, could this have been? When we consider its contiguity to the basin, and what we suppose to be the arsenal, strictly so called, and that it looks to the Bogaz, or mouth of the harbour, we cannot hesitate to believe, I think, that this must have been the exchange or town-hall—a covered terrace, or esplanade, where the merchants, the officers, and government officials, were wont to assemble, as in modern times, either for commercial purposes, for the hearing of disputes, the transmission of orders, the issuing of proclamations, and the like. But this is not all. I believe it to have been also the chief landing-place, and to have been ornamented with a colonnade. It was probably adorned with statues; and, if the principle of fountains was understood in those days, the situation was admirably calculated for one on this spot. We can picture to ourselves the great men of the place, the philosopher, and the merchant, speculating here on the signs of the times, counting their gains, or settling the affairs of their neighbours, (for there is nothing new under the sun,) whilst others, less interested in the affairs of state, or who cared nothing about the price of silk, or knotty polemics, might assemble there to embark in their gilded barges, and go forth from a crowded city to inhale the balmy yet invigorating breezes of the Mediterranean. Just such a place there is on the opposite shores of Cilicia, viz. at Soli or Pompeiopolis, of which I have already published a plan in another work.* The two harbours are so similar that one would think they had been contrived by the same person; and at the point immediately opposite the entrance at Soli, we find a flight of steps leading to a beautiful colonnade. Many of the columns are still standing; and this beautiful harbour may, at no distant period, be again turned to

* The Modern History and Condition of Egypt. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

account, for it is eligibly situated both politically and commercially. I feel assured that if the spot of which I have been speaking, were to be examined, the shafts of columns, and many other interesting objects, would be brought to light in confirmation of this idea.

The slope of the hill above the basin is covered with the scattered remains of buildings; and as the water-course, or back-water, has not been kept in repair, the stream, which collects the waters from the mountain torrents, instead of passing off by the culvert, finds its way through the gap in the wall above, and not only brings down with it large boulders, but floods this part of the hill and the land at its base; which might be prevented simply by repairing the walls of the water-course. The water being thus, in a great degree, wasted, the basin is not so well supplied as it might be, and the margin on the east side is left dry, especially as, when it rises to a certain point, the water escapes by a drain down to the sea. But, nevertheless, the greater part of the basin is covered with pure running water; for it is supplied by springs within the enclosure, and furnishes a good supply of leeches. In some places it is twelve feet deep; and close to the western wall, to sea-ward, much more, for the water, though quite clear, is dark, and the bottom cannot be seen, evidently owing to its depth. Notwithstanding the dilapidated state of the water-course, a small stream from the mountains still enters by it on the eastern side, and escapes by the gap or drain on the western side; so that the water in the basin is never stagnant, nor productive of malaria. Long grass and rushes have sprung up in some parts, and from these the natives manufacture mats and baskets. The neglected state of the water-course has, it will be perceived, reduced this portion of the hill to nearly the same state in which Seleucus found it, and to remedy which he conceived the idea of cutting the culvert, which I now proceed to describe.

In order to form an adequate idea of its importance, it must be examined in detail from end to end; but many travellers

are satisfied by a superficial glance. They regard it as a mere aqueduct, and because the road through it is in some places rough, especially in its lower third, where the fall is more abrupt, they are contented to take the shorter cut, up the hill from the mouth of the basin to near the centre, where there are some cottages, in the vicinity of what have been called the "Tombs of the Kings", and the "Cave of the Despot" (F). The culvert is here crossed, by an ancient foot-bridge, to several open and very spacious courts, more or less of a quadrangular shape, which form so many recesses in the picturesque, verdant, and wooded heights above and around. They are mostly, I might say all, natural terraces or inlets, the intervening spaces and areas admitting of cultivation; but their chief interest consisted in this, that they constituted the sacred abodes of the dead. The walls are perforated with chambers, and these again with numerous niches, shelves, and cavities, for the reception of sepulchral urns and sarcophagi; but in those which I have entered, I have failed to discover any legible inscription. Some Greek and Latin characters may occasionally be met with; but it is quite impossible to make anything out of them, though, doubtless, if the genius of this solitary but once revered spot could now be heard, she could relate events of painful interest, and unfold many a melancholy tale of some who here alone found rest, and who, in all the bitterness of human woe, have exclaimed with Job, "Oh, that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead *in the rock for ever!*" (xix, 23.)

The bridge itself is in very tolerable preservation; it spans an open cutting of the culvert by a single arch, at an elevation of about twenty-five feet; but the causeway, though narrow, and of course somewhat worn by the feet that have crossed it during a period of at least two thousand years, is perfectly safe. On the right of the bridge is a flight of stone steps, cut in the side of the rock; and by these we may descend into the culvert. Its appearance is very striking, and the traveller cannot be

otherwise than gratified. Large masses of rock surround him on every side, whilst high up above the beetling cliffs appears a delicate canopy of cerulean blue; and the vivid rays of a Syrian sun, darting low into the ravine, brilliantly illuminate its craggy sides, affording a bold and impressive contrast to the deep shadows at their base, and to the arched and gloomy cavern immediately before him, and within whose dark recesses he is now, for the first time, about to penetrate. The entrance to this, the lower tunnel, is rather difficult to pass, on account of an abutment of high shelving rock on the left side, over which it is necessary to scramble as well as we can, as the central passage is still more difficult of access, and at most seasons contains water. It would be easy enough to traverse the buttress, had it not become rounded by time, and smooth and slippery. I always find it best to take off my shoes, the foot has then a stronger hold; and in this way I have even conducted ladies over it. It only extends a few yards, and is soon passed. We may then put on our shoes again, and light our lanterns or torches, without which we can examine nothing thoroughly. We have now fairly entered the tunnel. The rock on both sides is higher than the central channel, towards which it slopes considerably, and it has also become smooth in some parts, from the friction of the rushing water during the winter months. In



View of open cutting, from first tunnel.

any case, but especially if we have to grope our way in the dark, as many do, it is best to keep now on the right, close to the wall, where, within convenient reach throughout the whole length, is a grooved shelf, which formerly served as a conduit

for supplying the town with water ; and if we follow the course of this, it will facilitate our progress considerably. We have not far to travel, however, and we soon find ourselves again in the open air.



View of first tunnel, looking east. From a sketch by Capt. William Allen, R.N.

But the entrance to another tunnel is before us. Advancing a few paces, we get a fine view of the two gateways, which are universally admired, not only as works of art, but on account of the picturesque form of the rocks which tower above them, as well as for the beauty of the open cutting in which we stand, itself a fine specimen of engineering art. The length of the upper tunnel is just double that of the other ; but the road through it is better, and we soon find ourselves emerging from it into a circumscribed valley, or wild, rocky glen, in the centre of which is the bed of a considerable mountain torrent. Huge stones and boulders lie scattered on every side. To the left, and

before us, the heights, diverging, take a semi-lunar form; and, as we advance, we find ourselves midway between two crescents, or gigantic hollows, the rocks still receding, and rising in terraces, one above the other, to the height of from 400 to 500 feet. Those on the one side are crowned with rich verdure and forest trees; but their opposite neighbours are not devoid of interest, although comparatively bare of foliage.

These two ranges form together an enormous amphitheatre, or *cul-de-sac*, (for there is no outlet,)—a natural basin, or reservoir, for the reception of the waters which flow from this portion of the steppes of Mount Rhossus, which rise majestically above the city. In the winter, a considerable volume of water finds its way, by torrents, from the mountains into the central channel of this valley; and we are not surprised to find that the early settlers should have been inundated by “rivers of water”, as the ancient writers described; for in the winter time it must have poured over the hill down to the sea in torrents and cataracts, for there was then no culvert, and it was not likely that a few rude villagers would adopt any effective measures to confine the waters to a single stream.

But what was to them an inconvenience, the master-mind of Seleucus made subservient to the grandest designs. Having decided on fortifying this important locality, he required a port for the protection of his ships; and he knew that a harbour without a back-water to cleanse it, would speedily fill up. He conceived the idea, therefore, of forming a culvert, which served the double purpose of carrying off the accumulated waters from the mountain, and of clearing either the outer or inner port, as occasion required, by, as we suppose, sluice-gates of some kind or other. He then built up a strong wall between the upper tunnel and the cliffs which crown the hill on which the ancient village stood; thus effectually closing the entrance to the glen or basin in which the waters collected. But he left an opening in the centre, which communicated with a strong conduit, by means of which, and by suitable sluice-gates, he could, at plea-

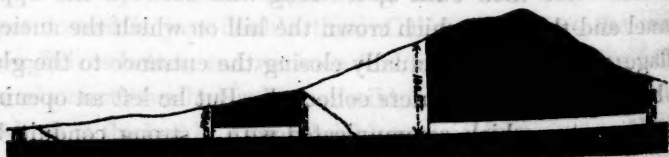
sure, direct the whole of the water into the inner harbour, or into the culvert to the outer port.



Entrance to first tunnel. From a sketch by Dr. Yates.

This wall still exists ; it is built of large stones, and is in good preservation. Of course the sluice-gates are gone, and there is an open gap, through which the waters pass as formerly ; and the conduit which supplied the back-water being defective, the hill is more or less flooded, as already stated.

About fifty yards from the western extremity of the great wall, the first or upper tunnel begins. It is 142 yards long, 21 feet high, and 21 feet wide ; and there is a central channel of from three to four feet in depth and width. The conduit on the left side, before mentioned, is so situated as to insure an abundant supply of water, and it passes along both tunnels and the intervening cutting, as far as the staircase and bridge, where, in consequence of the fall of the culvert, it meets the



A vertical section of the upper portion of the culvert at Seleucia Pieria, as surveyed by Capt. W. Allen, R.N.

surface of the hill, and was thus made to supply the town with water. The cutting between the tunnels is 88 yards long, open at the top; and, according to Captain Allen's survey, a vertical section of it at the upper end measures 150 feet, and it gradually declines to 75 feet, where the second tunnel commences.



View of second tunnel, looking west. From a sketch by Capt. W. Allen, R.N.

On the left side of the cutting are the remains of another flight of stairs cut in the rock, the lower portion broken away. The second tunnel is like the first, but only 45 yards long; an open cutting is then continued to the end of the culvert. A vertical section gives 50 feet at the upper end, and it declines gradually, according to the undulations of the hill. The tunnels only have the channel in the middle. This, together with the ledges left on either side of it, afforded facilities for clearing away boulders, stones, detritus, etc., which would otherwise have col-

lected; and it is remarkable that, although the culvert has been totally neglected for ages, the tunnels have not become obstructed; which Captain Allen thinks may be accounted for by the fact of the stream finding an exit by the gap in the great wall. "The fall," he says, "is one foot in fifty, as far as the bridge." Below bridge it increases obviously; and in some places it is very abrupt. The culvert winds rather more than is shown in the map; and the hill through which it is cut, is continuous with the heights above.

At about 440 yards from the entrance to the first tunnel, the hill declines, the culvert is more or less open for a short distance, and the wall on the left, which formerly kept up the water, has become dilapidated: 200 yards further, on the western side, are the remains of a Greek inscription, cut in the face of the rock; and near it is also one in Latin; but both are so much defaced, that it is impossible even to guess at their meaning. At about 120 yards further the hill declined so much that the ancients found it necessary to build a strong wall for about 40 yards, with large stones, like that above (Δ); and some years ago, the Turks, wishing to clear out the port, opened a gap in it, thinking that the winter torrents would effect their object; but taking no precautions, as might have been expected they brought down large stones and a quantity of silt, which helped to fill up the mouth of the harbour, and destroyed many beautiful gardens. After another 175 yards, three more inscriptions may be observed, (two of them high up, near an arch, and in sunken tablets,) but, like the preceding, they are quite illegible. Captain Allen estimates the entire length of the culvert at 1,200 paces from the great "bend", or wall, to where it terminates near the north pier. It opens out into a most fertile and beautiful sequestered valley, by an abrupt and sudden fall of enormous rocks, over which the water must have issued as a foaming cataract, with a loud roaring; and I conceive that these precipitous rocks were left in this state as a matter of security against the approach of an enemy. Rather high up

on the terraces to the right, above the water-fall, are some sepulchral chambers, but no inscriptions.

Polybius, in his description of the storming of the city, speaks of a town in this direction called "Dioscurium", from which point certain officers were commanded to lead their troops to the assault; and I believe it to have been situated on the rise of the hills, or the upland, rather than in this vicinity. I conceive it to have been a village close to Seleucia, to which, in times of peace, the inhabitants may have resorted, and where some of the more wealthy may have had their chateaux or country houses; but the site of Dioscurium requires further investigation.

Quitting the tunnel, we pass through orchards and plantations to one of the finest sandy shores I ever beheld, and, turning to the left, the port and moles come into view; but it is evident that formerly there must have been a fortified wall and outworks to defend this approach to the city and harbour.

The culvert, viewed as a work of art, raises the ancients greatly in our estimation; and, if proof were wanting, shews them to have been a people of no ordinary capacity. It would be considered a great undertaking even in the present day, with all our experience in engineering, our scientific attainments, and appliances of gunpowder, steam, and machinery. What a work of labour it must have been then, at that early period, to excavate a passage of such magnitude through hard limestone rock for a distance of three quarters of a mile; indeed, including all the outworks or appendages, we may fairly say a good English mile. Both the tunnels and cuttings are exquisitely contrived and shaped. They could not be better done by any of our modern engineers: there is no denying the fact—scientific men who have seen it allow it; and yet this magnificent triumph of human ingenuity is scarcely known to the world, and no use is made of it.

But viewed in connexion with the port and basin of Seleucia, the moles and fortifications, (also the work of Seleucus and

Antiochus the Great,) our admiration is increased ten-fold, and we deeply regret that a work of such usefulness, so admirably adapted for the extension of commerce, so importantly located, and so much needed on the coast of Syria, should be so utterly disregarded by the possessors of the soil.

On the brow of the hill, two or three hundred yards south of the foot-bridge which crosses the culvert, concealed by plantations and orchards, is a large excavated hollow (F), having the appearance of an old quarry, which, however, the inhabitants took the pains to improve and level; and then cut numerous spacious chambers in the face of the rocks, similar to those at the "Bab el Molook", at Thebes. These I believe to have been the most ancient of the royal sepulchres at Seleucia; and one of them may even have contained the remains of Seleucus himself. But from this spot having for ages been regarded, not only as the burial place of kings, but as the "Cave of the Despot",—and the legends of a patriarchal people like these ought not to be altogether disregarded,—it is not improbable that the tyrannical Antiochus Epiphanes, who oppressed his own people and persecuted the Jews, is here alluded to, and that he was interred on this very spot. The catacombs which occupy the northern side of the court, are more spacious and beautiful than the rest, and might justly be assigned to royalty. We enter by an oblong hall or vestibule, of which we find an admirable representation in Fisher's *Views in Syria*. It is 25 feet long and 7 feet 8 inches broad, and may be said to consist of a double row of columns, supporting a vaulted roof ornamented with sculptured scrolls and cornices. Passing under the central inner arch, we enter a very lofty and capacious chamber, 25 feet by 14½, on either side of which there is also a commodious sepulchral corridor, like the aisles of a church, which conceal the circumscribed resting-places of mortals; and instead of windows, the boundary walls are pierced with semi-lunar recesses of various dimensions for coffins and cinereal urns. In the middle of the central division are sunken vaults,

covered by arched walls raised above the floor, but quite plain and without inscriptions, and there are others on the sides. The roof of the apartment is flat and without ornament. Returning now to the vestibule, we perceive a handsomely-carved arched-doorway, which leads to another sepulchral chamber, 22½ feet by 21 feet, without reckoning the ante-room. The roof is very handsome; it is divided into vaulted sections, and supported by four Ionic columns, now broken, and at each end are two more, broken in half. The sculptured ornaments above consist of scallop-shells, scrolls, cornices, and mouldings, and the ivy leaf. The tombs are very numerous: there are ten in arched recesses, and a few others still sealed, but whether any have escaped notice and the ravages of fanatics I cannot say. These sepulchral chambers are many of them now used by the inhabitants as goat pens; and occasionally have become the abodes of hermits; and very convenient residences they make. I resided in just such an one some years ago in Egypt, and some of these, in more open situations, command the finest scenery in all Syria.

As the number of inhabitants increased, the semi-circular space between the range of cliffs and the Antioch gate, (known as the "Marine Suburb", through which the modern road to Suediah now passes, as seen in the map,) became occupied, buildings rapidly sprang up, and Seleucus Nicator then constructed the new city on the table-land or gently rising ground between the verge of the cliffs and the heights beyond, both of which districts he embellished and fortified. According to the ancient writers, the markets were at the angle formed by the Marine Suburb and the old city, and they may also have been inclosed by a second wall; but no traces of it remain. The whole range of cliffs is from 150 to 200 feet perpendicular, and the face of the rock is perforated with sepulchral chambers: a water-course consisting of earthenware pipes (of course dilapidated) may still be seen, and a tower and fortified wall, running for a considerable distance along the verge of the cliffs,

are conspicuous objects. The remains of stone buildings lie scattered about in all directions among the plantations; some stone sarcophagi also, two of which (κ) may be seen on the high road, about half way between the "Antioch" and the "South-gate". The former of these gates in the time of Pococke was tolerably perfect; a large portion of it has since fallen down, and near it, on the sea-side, are the remains of some public building, and also some modern farm-houses in the midst of mulberry plantations and orchards. The "Antioch-gate" is close to the cliffs, and, like the other gates, forms a portion of the city walls and out-works, being defended by strong circular towers. Near this spot is a large recess in the cliff, and a little further on are the ancient limestone quarries, which no doubt supplied a large proportion of the material for building the moles and fortifications. The ancient "Coryphæus" river here crosses the road. It is very short, rising in the adjacent heights not above a mile distant, and is beautifully clear and delicious. In this vicinity (λ) are the remains of the ancient circus, near which Antiochus encamped when he prepared to besiege the city, then in the hands of Ptolemy. See *Polybius*, b. v, ch. v.

Having passed this nectar-like stream, we enter upon the rich plains of Suediah, and turning off to the left, we reach various inlets in the upland country, where there are numerous lovely spots well adapted for private residences, certainly not surpassed for scenery and situation in any spot of Syria, and abounding in everything that is calculated or required to render a home agreeable. No elegant villas remain, but I cannot imagine that a situation so desirable, yet so convenient to the great city, could escape the observation of the more wealthy inhabitants, than whom none perhaps could better appreciate its delights; and I can quite picture to myself the country-houses and gardens of the nobles of the period studding the undulating country in this still healthy and attractive neighbourhood, one portion of which is traversed to this day by an ancient Roman road, which forms a part of the more direct route between the

old port of Seleucia and Antioch. The distance between the cliffs and the sea is about two-thirds of a mile; one half is covered with mulberry plantations and gardens, the remainder admits of high cultivation, but is overgrown with myrtles and squill, for want of population. The city is about six miles in circumference. At the point where the wall near the Antioch-gate joined the cliff, the latter makes an abrupt turn to the northward; and here is a steep ascent over ruins and terraces, and through plantations to the top of the cliff; and so, if we please, we may ramble on along the heights until we reach the new city, or we may take the route more usually followed, viz., by what I have called the "Royal-gate", (e)—as we presume it was in the upper city that the nobles chiefly resided,—that is to say, by the gate which is at the angle formed by the diverging of the cliffs where the wall of the old city terminates, and that of the "Marine Suburb" begins. The gate was flanked by fine semi-oval towers; one has been thrown down, the other is almost concealed by the trees; the springings of the arch remain: and here we have another specimen of engineering skill—a fine military road cut through the solid rock in a serpentine direction up the acclivity to the royal city. (e) About two-thirds of the way up, a ravine is passed by a bridge of a single arch of cut stones, and a span of about 24 feet. At this point, a few paces from the road, on the left hand, are some fine capacious vaults excavated in the rocks, which I imagine may have been used as guard-rooms for soldiers; and immediately above them, there has been evidently a large building of importance, most likely a fortress, perhaps the citadel itself. Crossing the bridge, the road still winds for some distance until it reaches the summit; it then divides, one branch leading along the cliff to the left, overlooking the basin,—and a fine causeway it is,—the other, diverging to the right, leads to the fortified wall already noticed as running along the cliffs to the eastward, and marked by a conspicuous tower: but it also sends off a short branch here to the new city, which is close at hand, and the

approach to which seems to have been very strongly defended.

There are extensive foundations still to be seen, some in the natural rock, which in one place itself forms a wall about 15 feet high and 60 feet in length, with a noble gateway. This has been a very strong position. There is no sentry now to challenge us as we pass. We walk on unmolested, and traverse an extensive area of ploughed fields and ruins, once, as we suppose, the stately palaces of the rich and powerful, but now mere heaps of stones, and mounds and walls, a confused, indescribable mass, with here and there the shafts of columns mixed up with trees and vegetation. About half a mile beyond the gateway are a few broken shafts still standing, marking the site of an ancient temple; and in the same field a farmer one day ploughed up a beautiful colossal statue (about 8 feet high) of a female figure, robed and sandaled like the figure of Minerva, in white marble. It was in beautiful preservation, but without the head. This perhaps was not far off. I lost no time in endeavouring to secure this figure, but found that it was already sold to a Turk, who, before I could see him about it, caused it be broken up for the convenience of transport, and that he might apply what remained to domestic purposes.

Captain William Allen, R.N., who surveyed the Niger, and to whom great praise is due for the care and attention with which he has surveyed the port of Seleucia, is of opinion that the latter might be restored at a very moderate expense, compared with the advantages which would result from it, viz., the restoration of the prosperity of the north of Syria. Neither the destructive power of man, he says, nor the convulsions of Nature, have done it irreparable damage. It is an enduring monument of the beneficial energy of its founders, and earnestly invites their successors to profit by so valuable a legacy, while the same natural elements of prosperity still exist in the inexhaustible fertility of this wonderful country, which may be said to comprise the valleys of the Orontes, the Euphrates, and the

Bekaa,—all capable of producing, to an almost unlimited extent, articles most valuable to commerce. To these, the cities of the Tetrapolis, and many others, owed their origin and rapid prosperity; and if it was worth their while to construct such a great work to facilitate the export of the riches of their soil, it surely ought to be worth the while of their successors, as those riches are still to be obtained for the seeking—to restore the port of Seleucia. In these sentiments all who are practically acquainted with the subject *fully coincide*: and in support of them we have the published testimony of Colonel Chesney, Colonel Estcourt, M.P., Captain Charlewood, W. F. Ainsworth, Esq., and the other officers of the late Euphrates expedition. I may mention also, that the Bay of Antioch and coast of Seleucia have been surveyed recently by H. M. B. "Frolic", Commander Vansittart, and that the report is favourable. I must not enlarge on these matters. I have already extended my remarks more than I intended.

WILLIAM HOLT YATES, M.D.

IX.

THE THRONE OF AMYCLÆAN APOLLO.

AT Amyclæ, in Laconia, Pausanias found, and describes, a throne of great size and elaborate decoration, dedicated to the Amyclæan Apollo. The seat of the throne was at least of such height as to admit free passage under it; of the material he says nothing; but the absence of any reference to colour and inlaid woods, stone, or metals, favours the opinion that the surface of it at least was of one uniform substance, probably bronze; and that the forty different subjects, and more, which he enumerates as wrought upon it, were wrought, for the most part, in relief: "The part of the throne where the god should sit, was not continuous throughout, but afforded several seats, a free space remaining by each seat; the widest space was in the middle, and there stood upright the figure of the god." This figure was some forty-five feet high, archaic, and with no appearance of art; bearing, in fact, with the exception of the face and helmeted head, the feet, and the hands, which held spear and bow, resemblance to a bronze column. Some strange hints even occur (Hesychius), that this was the Lacædemonian god that was represented with four hands and four ears; but, if so, the silence and the statements of Pausanias are alike unaccountable. I suspect some confusion with the archaic symbols of the Dioscuri or the Actorids.

The pedestal it stood on was in the form of an altar. The painted vases have made us familiar with archaic statues of the form described—most frequently of Athene; and the Ephesian Artemis is a variation of the same type. The altar-pedestal is also of frequent occurrence; but as yet no adequate monu-

mental illustration has offered of the many-seated throne. Possibly Pindar had such in his mind when he described the "well-circled seat on which sat the gods of sea and land", at the marriage of Peleus. The subordinate places were, no doubt, appropriated to the *θεοὶ παρέδρου*—the associated divinities worshipped in especial combination with the Amyclæan Apollo. Were the seats divided by arms, or were they distinguished by curved recesses along the front? The pillar-like statue would then occupy, or rather stand opposite to, that in the midst; for we cannot place the altar-pedestal on the seat of the throne, and the expression of the text must be interpreted by the light of general probabilities.

Quatremère de Quincy, in his great work, (*Le Jupiter Olympien*), enters at large into the subject of this throne. The observations of Welcker, in his *Zeitschrift*, are of far more value, and will well repay perusal. My own point of view has so little in common, however, with these anterior notices, that I may be excused encumbering myself with continual references or refutations.

The throne was made by a certain Bathykles, a Magnesian. Of whom he was the scholar, or under what Lacedæmonian king he flourished, Pausanias would not—probably could not—say; but he implies that his work was entirely contrasted with the archaic statue, and claimed the honours of a work of art. From the circumstance that the artist dedicated a statue to Artemis Leucophryne, on the completion of his work, it has been plausibly inferred that his native city was the Magnesia on the Mæander, for there the goddess so entitled had peculiar honours. This Magnesia was among the Greek cities in Asia subjected by Cræsus; and when we find this king supplying the Lacedæmonians, as a free gift, with the gold they wished to purchase for ornamenting the statue of Amyclæ or its counterpart, it is tempting to conjecture that the employment by Lacedæmonians of a Magnesian artist was due, in some manner, to these mixed transactions of revolution and courtesy. These are

questions, however, that it is wise to leave open questions; for we shall find that there were independent reasons why the employment of a Magnesian artist at Amyclæ should be natural and fitting.

The words of Pausanias at first seem to indicate that he intended to give only a selection from the subjects represented, but he takes heart as he goes on, and goes through them all. The throne, he says, is supported before and behind by two Charites and two Horai. Thus a pair of mythological female figures at each foot: "On the left stands Echidna and Typhos; on the right, Tritons". These figures would occupy the outside space between the back and front legs, in a position which is frequently thus disposed of in the thrones on the vases. Pausanias then proceeds with his notice of subjects in the following order. I attach numbers for the sake of comparison and reference:

- | FIGURES. | No. | |
|-----------|-----|--|
| 5 . . | 1. | Poseidon and Zeus carry off Taygete, daughter of Atlas, and her sister Alcyone; Atlas also is represented. (Notwithstanding the conjunction in the text, we may ascribe this figure to the same group as his daughters.) |
| 2 . . | 2. | The single combat of Hercules and Cynus. |
| 5 (?) . | 3. | The battle of Centaurs; and Hercules at the cave of Pholus. |
| 2 . . | 4. | Theseus leading the Minotaur alive and bound; an unusual version of the story. |
| Several | 5. | There is also upon the throne the chorus of Phæacians, and Demodocus singing. |
| { 2-3 . . | 6. | The exploit of Perseus upon Medusa—(was Athene present, as usual on monuments?) |
| { 2 . . | 7. | Hercules fighting the giant Thurius. |
| { 2 . . | 8. | Combat of Tyndareus and Eurytus. |
| Several | 9. | The rape of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri. |
| { 2 . . | 10. | Hermes carrying the infant Dionusos to heaven. |
| { 2-3 . . | 11. | Athene conducting Hercules to his abode with the gods (probably in chariot, as on vases). |
| { 3 . . | 12. | Peleus delivering Achilles to Cheiron to be nurtured. |
| { 2 . . | 13. | Cephalus snatched away by Hemera for his beauty. |
| Several | 14. | The gods bringing gifts to the marriage of Harmonia. |
| { 2 . . | 15. | The single combat of Achilles and Memnon. |
| { 2 . . | 16. | Hercules chastising the Thracian Diomedes. |
| { 2-3 . . | 17. | Hercules chastising Nessus. (Deianira could scarcely be omitted.) |

FIGURES. No.

Several 18. Hermes conducting the goddesses to be judged by Paris.

4-5 . 19. Adrastus and Tydeus stay the fight of Amphiaraus and Lycurgus, son of Pronax.

{ 2 . . 20. Herè contemplates Io, daughter of Inachus, being in form of a cow.

{ 2 . . 21. Athene flies from the pursuit of Hephæstus.

{ 2 . . 22. Exploit of Herakles with the hydra.

{ 2 . . 23. Exploit of Herakles with Cerberus.

{ 2 . . 24. Anaxias and Mnasinous (sons of Dioscuri) on horseback.

{ 2 . . 25. Megapenthes son of Menelaus, and Nicostratus, riding on a single horse.

{ 2 . . 26. Bellerophon killing the Chimæra.

{ 2 . . 27. Herakles driving the oxen of Geryon.

28. At the ends of the throne, above, are the sons of Tyndareus, mounted; Sphinxes are below the horses, and wild beasts running above; to one, a pardalis; to Poludeuces, a lioness.

29. At the very top of the throne is a chorus, the Magnesians who assisted Bathykles in making the throne.

Such, in the order as enumerated by Pausanias, are the decorations of the throne, exclusive of those which were seen by going under the seat. What is the law of symmetry and order, that, by the analogy of the paintings of the Lesche, of the decorations of the vases, of Greek ornamental decoration generally, we are bound to expect and to assume, until examination disappoints us? The expectation is strengthened by the obvious symmetrical correspondence of the Charites and Horai with the antithetical subjects, Chthonian and Marine below, and of Castor and Pollux above; the whole surmounted by the chorus of Magnesian artists. It will then be readily observed that the subjects from 20 to 27 fall naturally into pairs. Apart from deeper analogies, they would strike the eye; and most of the groups on the throne are familiar, in numerous examples, to the students of figured antiquity, as parallels pictorially. A goddess appears in each adventure of the first pair; the second pair comprises two exploits of Hercules upon two many-headed monsters; in the third, a pair of equestrian cousins confront a pair of half-brothers on a single horse; the fourth pair asso-

ciates Hercules, again victor over a triple enemy, with Bellerophon slaying the triform Chimæra. Following the hint of arrangement thus obtained, we have four rows of subjects, in relief, each row exhibiting a pair of parallel subjects, and an alternation is discovered; the first and third rows having very direct analogy, and contrasting with the second and fourth.

This result is precisely of the nature that we should expect from our acquaintance with the matter-of-fact plan upon which, in the Lesche at Delphi, we found Pausanias commencing at one end of an artistic composition, and telling off its component figures and groups with the method of a lord-mayor telling horse-nails at Westminster. He evidently commenced at one end of the throne, and noted down the groups and subjects consecutively; and attention to the natural aspect of the subjects, may give us a shrewd hint of the course of his enumeration.

The fourteen subjects numbered from 5 to 18, betray their arrangement very satisfactorily; they divide into two sets of seven each, which correspond among themselves, but in inverse order, as if the enumerator had proceeded βουσιροφῆδόν; taking one now from right to left, then descending a step, to return from left to right; or, as I think more probable, proceeding up one column of subjects, and down the other that was arranged parallel to it.

The subjects 10 and 11 form a pair corresponding, in number of figures, as well as nature of subject, with 12 and 13. Numbers 9 and 14 are both subjects comprising a greater number of figures, and as nearly related to each other as passionate and impatient love to marriage, with its "state and ancients". Then succeed, on either side, triplet subjects of combat or slaughter, 6, 7, 8, antithetical to 15, 16, 17; and then again a single, but in itself more numerous subject is interposed; and 5, the song of Demodocus and Phæacian chorus, ranges opposite to 18, the judgment of Paris, and, I think, to 19, the quarrel of Amphiaræus and Lycurgus. The chorus could scarcely be created with such scantiness as to have sufficient equipoise

in the three goddesses and their conductor. In another part of the throne we shall meet with a similar instance of departure from precision without prejudice to general conformity,—I have no doubt, with deeply studied feeling of enhanced expression to the general law.

Again, therefore, we have, and in two instances, four rows of subjects; and, on collating them with the four already obtained, we find a parallelism that cannot be fortuitous. Combats are excluded from the second and fourth rows, but exclusively engross the third. I have assumed, in my tabulated scheme, that Pausanias passed along uniformly from left to right—the course of the sun—the course of his stylus on his tablet or memorandum book; yet here and there there seems a temptation to suspect a deviation; for instance, if subjects 13 and 12 were to change places, they would correspond a little more accurately with 11 and 10; the youthful, if not infant, Achilles,—Pindar avouches that he was consigned to Cheiron at least before six years old, conforming with the infant Dionusos.

The plan, as thus far traced, presents us with three tablets of subjects, comprising a centre and two corresponding wings,—strophe, antistrophe, and epode,—and presenting a web of well contrasted, and therefore not incoherent, but distinctly accentuated, representations. This contrast and coherence induce the conclusion that the three tablets were so disposed on the throne that they might be taken in by the eye at once, which thus was at liberty to wander its own way, and catch in its varying course the varying harmonies of the versiform combinations. If this be so, the only place that can be assigned for them is upon the internal face of the back of the throne above the seat, and so disposed as to be visible to the spectator standing in front of the monument. This back may have been either curved or straight, whatever might be the outline of the front edge of the seats, but the distribution of the subjects does not admit any sharp return of the sculptured surface to form a side. As there appears to have been a clear passage below the throne from front

to back, it will be observed that the assignment of these decorations to the external face of the back of the throne would leave the front view almost destitute of enrichment of any kind.

We can scarcely be wrong in ascribing the figures of the Tyndarids on horseback "at the ends of the throne above" to the proper arms of the throne. The sphinxes that were below them are ornaments that are constantly seen on monuments in this position, the supports of the rails. It seems not at all unlikely that the Dioscuri, sphinxes, pard, and lioness, were executed in the round, as detached figures. The next words of the describer, locating the chorus of Magnesians "at the very top" of the throne, appear to exclude the antecedent groups from the lofty position, that otherwise might have some claims of plausibility, at the extreme angles at the top of the back.

The four first subjects enumerated present two distinct groups of single combat, Theseus and the Minotaur, Hercules and Cycnus, interposed alternately between two more extensive subjects, a general battle of Centaurs, and the rape of the daughters of Atlas. I conjecture that this system of subjects was adjusted upon the base of the throne. The base of the Olympic throne had its special ornaments, and there is an indication in the text of a marked transition in passing to the fifth subject, which is noted as "upon the throne", as if the preceding were not upon it also, at least in so strict a sense.

The mention of the throne of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, invites allusion to other analogies and illustrations. Pausanias catalogues the paintings with which the brother of Pheidias, Panænus, adorned the walls or panels that closed up the intervals at the sides and back between the supporting pillars and legs. It was from noticing the principle of order to which this list is reducible, that I was encouraged to test the regularity of the Amyclæan enumeration. The subjects at Elis are nine, and they are told off in the order that follows as numbered, but with no hint of the relative position in which they are placed.

1. Herakles relieving Atlas. 4. Herakles and Nemean lion. 7. Herakles relieving Prometheus.
 2. Theseus and Pirithous. 5. Ajax Oileus, & Cassandra. 8. Achilles and Penthesileia.
 3. Hellas and Salamis. 6. Hippodameia and mother. 9. Two Hesperides with apples.

The subjective parallelisms and proprieties, which are very subtle, must be passed over here, but it will be noticed at once that the upper subject of every row is an exploit of Hercules, that the three lowest correspond in presenting pairs of female figures; the intermediate groups are linked by laws of analogy that must and may readily now be assumed and taken for granted. There would be some considerations in favour of commencing the enumeration from below, in which case the subjects of the upper and lower lines would simply change places. The corresponding space in front had no pictures, probably because the portions of the statue in front of it would have interfered with such decorations, and because the blue with which it was coloured furnished a better background for the robe of the god and its enrichments.

Yet again: the Olympic throne, says Pausanias, was supported not only by the proper legs, but by columns between and of the same height as the legs. If we assume only one column on each side, we have a pair of vacant spaces, which will not agree with the requirements of the scheme, and neither will the triple spaces, lateral instead of vertical, that would be given by a pair of intermediate columns. But the columns could scarcely have been in a line or plan with the legs, because they would have interfered with the bar that ran from one leg to another, bearing a continued subject executed in the round. The latter point is clear, from one figure having been lost from the front bar. The columns then, I conclude, were set a little back, and this enables us to place them at the angles of a reduced square, so that two would be visible between the legs of all the sides, with the single wall curtain at the several fronts of the very form and proportions suitable for our vertical pictorial ternaries.

It appears, from the description of Pausanias, that it was

possible to pass under the seat of the Amyclæan throne in order to inspect another set of subjects which were distributed to the right and left—thus apparently at the back of the Tritons and Typhon visible from without. The notice furnishes us with the hint for the scale of the work, that the seat of the throne must have been some six feet above the ground, and it would have been welcome had a note been given us of the point of division of the subjects between the two sides; wanting this, we gain at least an opportunity to test the rule of symmetrical arrangement that has appeared to develop itself in the general list.

“Going under the throne, we find within, on the side of the Tritons”:—

FIGURES.	No.	
many	31.	The chase of the boar of Calydon.
3 . .	32.	Hercules slaying the Actorids.
3 or 4	33.	The Boreads driving away the harpies.
{ 3 . .	34.	Pirithous and Theseus carrying off Helen.
{ 2 . .	35.	Hercules strangling the lion.
{ 3 . .	36.	Apollo shooting Tityus; and Artemis.
2 . .	37.	Hercules fighting the Centaur Oreios.
2 . .	38.	Theseus and the Minotaur slain.
2 . .	39.	Hercules wrestling with Achelous.
2 . .	40.	Herè bound by Hephaistos.
many	41.	The games instituted by Acastus at funeral of his father.
3 or 4	42.	The adventure of Menelaus with Proteus, as related in the Odyssey.
3 . .	43.	Admetus yoking a boar and lion.
many	44.	The Trojans bringing funeral libations to Hector.

This series, from 31 to 44, we must divide into two parts for ourselves, as Pausanias, in his haste, omits to mark the point at which he turns to the side of Echidna and Typhon. In attempting this we find, as before, that the correspondence is inverse—the first subject answering to the last, and so in order towards the middle. The tabulated scheme exhibits the correspondence, but it will be seen that the games of Acastus, no doubt a subject comprising several groups, has not one but three subjects of minor groups to balance it. Again, as in our first examples, we are brought to a double system, each of four

rows; which are severally, either single, double, or triple in composition. There are two single-subject rows in the first scheme, two double-subject rows in the second, but in neither case do rows of like composition follow each other. The two plans or schemes agree in the arrangement of commencing or concluding either as a single or a double row, the triplets being placed internally. I suspect that in one case the single-subject rows were at the top of the system, and in the other at the bottom, but this is a point to which the text gives no clue.

It is useless, I fear, to attempt to elicit from our materials whether the several bands or friezes were all of the same height, and the figures introduced all of the same relative proportions. I am inclined to think that this was the case, from the observation of the agreement in number of the figures in each of the rows of the central tablet, which range with the more varied lateral combinations. The Greek vase painters exercised the most admirable art in combining several friezes one above another of varying depth and, so to speak, populousness, with nicest feeling for contrast and relief, in harmony with the proportionate interest and importance of the distributed subject. Of this, as of so many other artistic and poetic excellencies, the François vase is probably the noblest example. The resource in question, however, was, I suspect, not unknown to Bathykles, but neglected, as not required in addition to the contrast and distinction given by the varying division of the several rows, and by the grand contrast of the bas-reliefs with the round figures at the top, the ends or arms, and basement of the throne; and moreover as inapplicable to a combination so multitudinous, and which was not intended to concentrate chief interest on one main incident and chief representation.

The altar pedestal of the statue was said to contain the ashes of Hyacinthus, the hero of the Hyacinthia, the great festival of Amyclæ. On the left side of it was a door of bronze, affording access for offerings to the dead previous to the sacrifices made

to Apollo at the Hyacinthia. The sculptured decorations of the altar exhibit a degree of correspondence that intimates their distribution on the several sides of the altar, but how far the left side and its door may have shared in them is not absolutely clear.

"1. *On the altar* were wrought the figures of Biris (*Doricè* for "Iris, say those who best should know, and thus we get a hint that the names of the figures may have been inscribed), and "Amphitrite and Poseidon. Also Zeus and Hermes in talk together, and near them Dionusos and Semele, and Ino beside her.

"2. There are also made *upon the altar*, Demeter, Kore, and "Plouto; besides these, the Moirai and Horai (Fates and Seasons); and with them, Aphrodite, Athene, and Artemis. They "conduct to heaven Hyacinthus and his sister Polyboia, who, "as they say, died in her maidenhood. Hyacinthus has a beard "here, but Nicias (about the time of Praxiteles) painted him "extremely youthful, with allusion to the passion of Apollo.

"3. Hercules also is represented *upon the altar*, he too led to "heaven by Athene and other gods.

"4. There are also *on the altar* the daughters of Thestius, the "Muses, and the Horai (qy. Apollo?).

The fourfold repetition of *on the altar* seems to hint a fourfold division referable to the several sides. The three first subjects have obvious agreement; the fourth differs, and in this very point seems suited for the door or its borders. The Horai which, in the fourth, are a recurrence, seem to be due to a transcriber's error, his eye catching, as not unfrequent, a previous final word. The names enumerated for two first subjects are in each case eight, but the addition of Moirai and Horai to the second, disturbs the balance, and suggests some oversight. The three first names of each set seem to have some independence of the rest that follows, and the remark may be extended to the fourth side, the Thestiadae being three—Althæa, Leda, Hypermnestra.

The fourth set of figures being on the left of the altar, the subject on the front must—such we have seen is the method of

Pausanias—have been one of those next to it, that is, either the third which precedes it, or the first which stands at the other extremity of the list. I suspect that Pausanias, passing under the throne, had the back of the altar full before him when he had finished there, and taking that first, passed on to the right hand subjects, and thence to No. 3; which would thus give us the progress of Hercules to heaven as the subject in front of the altar and the god and his throne.

Now this result perfectly agrees with the preeminence assigned to Hercules in the general collection of subjects chosen to decorate the common dedication of throne and altar, for there are other confirmations that the altar also was no less the work of Bathykles. Heracles is the hero introduced most frequently—the only hero who appears, and frequently, in several adventures in all the six great systems of groups. Besides a repetition of his apotheosis, twelve of his exploits are represented, and the very number is proof that the whole form a designed series, although they are selected upon some other principle than that of his great series of labours, a list that itself varies with various authorities. An obvious justification, or rather explanation, of this preference, is the claim of the kings of Dorian Sparta to be descendants of the great hero—the favourite hero of the Dorian race. Something more, however, than mere compliment and consideration for even the highly honoured Herakleid monarchs, is required to complete the illustration of the scheme. We have farther to seek for—it will not be far—the special analogy of his myths to that of the god, and to the festival to which the monuments of Amyclæ more especially refer, and to trace the concurring local and symbolical proprieties that decided the selection of certain exploits out of the multitude that on different grounds were equally available.

The festival of the Hyacinthia was one of the most important celebrated by the Lacedæmonians; for the due observation of it they delayed or interrupted the most urgent military ex-

peditions: they were engrossed by its festivities in the midst of the danger of Greece, when Xerxes had already forced the pass of Thermopylæ. At a later date the mora of Spartans destroyed by the manœuvre of Iphicrates, consisted of Amyclæans, who were returning as usual with them from foreign service, on the approach of the festival. This took place about the time of the summer solstice, and Athenæus furnishes an account of it from an original source, and other details are forthcoming. The sacred rites continued for three days; they commenced with the funereal ceremonies within the altar already described, where Hyacinthus was said to be buried; the nocturnal procession, for which Euripides is our authority, probably came in here; the funereal feast followed, with all tokens of solemnity and grief; certain cakes were substituted for bread, no crowns were worn, no pæans sung, and the assemblage separated in grave orderliness and silence. The second day was devoted to Apollo, and now succeeded a cheerful and lively series of spectacles. A great procession, under direction of a special director, comprised all Amyclæans and the majority of the Lacedæmonians now crowned with ivy; the pæan to the god was now heard, boys in festal garb accompanying the voice with lyre and pipe; and the theatre was the scene even of equestrian exercises, as well as of the varied performances of choruses of youths who sung the poetry of the district to the accompaniment, not only of the flute, but of certain mimetic dances of archaic style. The Spartan maidens took part in the show; they passed along in cars ornamented for display, or they took part in contests of the chariot race. It was, no doubt, on this day that the robe wrought by Spartan matrons for the Amyclæan god was carried in procession and dedicated. The entire state was effused in rejoicing; every class shared in the rites; the citizens entertained not only friends and relatives, but their very slaves. The third day appears to have been occupied with games in honour of Hyacinthus,—the discobolia especially, and races in full suit of armour.

These details betray the character of the festival as of the same nature as so many others occurring far and wide over Greece, in which the same alternation of depression and exhilaration, sometimes in inverse order, gave outlet for the sympathies and excitabilities of the mind, that find vent among southern nations still, in vehemencies not less extravagant, in fast and festival, in Carnival and Lent. In the various instances, the various elements might be differently combined in order and degree; but the set is usually the same, and complete, and ever grouped around some mythic personage, hero or heroine, who is at once a type of all nature and of every individual, arrayed in the symbolical imagery and attributes of the vegetable world and the astral cycles; and yet of like aspirations and of like sympathies with his worshippers. These were far too engrossed with the workings of their own sensibilities to criticise historically the tale which gave opportunity for their gratification; they assumed a truth where they recognized a beauty, and were saved from the mischiefs of superstitious veneration for a blunder or a falsity, by the refinement of their sensibility withdrawing their attention from the dead vehicle of fable and mistake, and attaching it to the eternal veracities of sentiment and expression.

Thus it was that, with no insincerity and no degradation, the Amycleans mourned for Hyacinthus, as the Greeks generally for Kore, carried off by the king of the shades; for Linus, for Dionusos; though in every case the symbolical import of the tale of woe was far more salient than any pretensions to literal tradition. The heart that finds itself unburdened of a present grief, is too grateful to inquire curiously, still less sceptically; this duty falls to the more intelligently benevolent, and must be undertaken, perforce, by the philosophical, when the children of impulse have lost the safeguard of original simplicity, and are despairing and entangled in the meshes of dogma and formalism.

The mythus of Hyacinthus is of a class that was wonderfully

prevalent and influential, not only among the Greeks, but among all the nations around the Mediterranean, of whatever origin; and the agreement not only evinces agreement of sympathy, but led the way chiefly to that ultimate fusion of mythologies that took place in the later days of the Roman empire, and gave a common term to the Kore, and Dionusos, and Hercules, and Hyacinthus, of Greece; the Atys, Lityerses, Bormus, and Hylas, of Asia Minor; the Adonis and Thammuz of Semitic races; the Maneros, and, above all, the Osiris of the Egyptians.

The Greek sources for the mythus of Hyacinthus are neither abundant nor early, yet sufficient to authenticate the general accuracy of Ovid, and to illustrate it even by variations. Hyacinthus, son of the Spartan king, Amyclas, and Diomedes,—or of Cebalus, a youth of exquisite beauty,—was loved by Apollo, but slain unintentionally by his rebounding discus; or the discus swerved, driven by Zephyrus, the jealous rival of the sun-god. In other accounts, Thamyris, the Thracian singer, is attached to Hyacinthus, now son of the muse Clio and Pierus, the eponymn of musical Pieria. In every case, it is by the discus of Apollo that the boy is slain; and from his blood springs up the purpled hyacinth, on the petals of which Greeks found without difficulty the letters ΑΙ! ΑΙ! the exclamations of woe. The flower and its inscription are elsewhere connected with the fate of Ajax,—Aias; and the general parallelism of the myth merits the attention that in another place I have endeavoured to bestow upon it.

The youth Hyacinthus, then, is a personification of the blooming vegetation of the year; as that, again, is a type of the youth and strength of humanity. Hyacinthus, beloved of Zephyrus and Apollo, the breeze and the sunshine, is the floral decoration of the earth, fostered by genial light and air. On the Tower of the Winds, at Athens, we see Zephyrus with lap full of flowers, the hyacinth, now double, among them. The fatal disc that swerves or rebounds, and slays him, is the orb of the sun, which, at the turn of the year, burns up the ripening bloom.

Hence the festival took place at the summer solstice, about the longest day. According to Ovid, the god and his favourite resort to the exercise of the discus about high noon: "Titan, intermediate between the past and coming night, distant either way at equal intervals", a transference of allusion from the annual to the diurnal culmination.

Hyacinthus is the fading bloom of the year, as Persephone is the falling harvest; and the exactness of the analogy is evident by the introduction, on the altar, of a sister, Poluboia, who can scarcely be distinguished from Kore. The natural cycle of the harvest in the mythus of Kore, furnished at Eleusis the impressive type of mortality, the faith in the healthy vigour of nature, and the confident hope of individual revival. At Eleusis it was Dionusos who supplied the second elemental symbol of humid nature—not wine alone, but all humidity, as Kore, not bread-corn alone, but all vegetation; and on the altar of Amyclæ these cycles of fable are again united. The violent abduction of youth and beauty was another mythological form, parallel to that of premature death; and the fable of the daughter of Pandarus carried off by the Harpies, finds its nearest parallel in that of the slaughtered children of Niobe.

The physical or mixed physiological symbolism of these tales is elevated into a moral type in the story of Hercules. This mythus is not without a natural, and especially an astronomical aspect, which is of value in association with the Sun god; but the moral import predominates. The career of the hero is not simply beautiful, but heroic. Heroism and beauty were both easily expressed by the Greek by a single word; and offer parallel sequences of growth, culmination, premature interruption, and claim equal promise of beautified restoration.

Hyacinthus, it will be observed, is only represented on the altar, within which he was said to be buried, and not on the throne connected with it, as neither was Apollo himself but once; but the analogy of the decorations proves that his mythus gave the pervading sentiment of the whole. Aphrodite, Arte-

mis, and Athene, conduct him and his sister to heaven; and in the same composition, or system of groups, the especial divinities of earth and its fruitfulness, Demeter, Kore, Plouton, are introduced. On another side, Dionusos appears himself in heaven, and greets there or conducts, his mother Semele, as on the Etruscan speculum, and in the celebrations of Delphi; and here, along with Zeus and Hermes, we are introduced to powers of vapour and the brine; to Iris, Amphitrite, and Poseidon. Lastly, Hercules, whose importance on the throne is so predominant, appears to engross the front of the altar, by his progress to the assembly of the gods.

The symbolism of the throne is harmonized with that of the altar, not only by repetition groups, in conspicuous places, of the transference of Dionusos (45) and Hercules (47) to heaven, but by the continuation, in the first instance, of elemental allusion. The Horai and Charites support the throne,—the Seasons, and the Graces; and on either side we find contrasted forms of the wilder manifestations of nature: on one side, the briny Tritons; on the other, Echidna, the scaly inmate of cavernous earth, with Typhon, her associate power of noxious and violent exhalations, and gaseous outbursts.

It would only weary to set forth, even in epitome, the illustrations that are available, of the solar and seasonal associations that, in the Greek mind, were prompt to be suggested by almost every subject selected for the throne. The ravaging Calydonian boar, for instance, is a recognized wintry symbol (it is not unrelated to *βάκινθος* and *βέτιν*—if space could be spared to show how). The lion, again, is a summer type; and both lion and boar are yoked significantly in this connexion by Admetis; the instructed of Apollo (20), Io, who is entitled to be present as ancestress of Hercules, has also a claim as a cyclic personification of the moon. (*Æschyl. Prom.*)

The decorations of the throne and altar must be regarded as the complements of the symbolism of the celebration, of which much the most explicit and direct found place in the songs and

mimetic exercises of the festival itself: hence a certain indirectness of allusion throughout to the local mythus; by no means remoteness, for the sculpture attends the spirit of the festivity with the truth and duty of an accompaniment, as in the subjects of the funeral offerings to Hector (44), and the funeral games celebrated by Acastus (41).

Apart from other proprieties, to be adverted to presently, the twins Castor and Pollux are clearly reducible to diurnal types, as Hyacinthus to an annual. Like him, they pass to heaven; but on alternate days they die and live by turns; and there is little uncertainty about the point that, whether originally or not, in this *εναντημιση* was seen an allusion to alternating day and night,—the brothers who, according to Hesiod, return and retire from the house by turns, and never occupy it together. Closely allied, again, is the subject of Cephalus carried off for his beauty by Hemera, the day or dawn—Hemera, mother of Zephyrus, by whom Hyacinthus was beloved; nor less so, those of the daughters of Leucippus, whom the Dioscuri themselves are carrying off just when they are at the point of marriage; and Helen, the prize of Theseus and Pirithous. Lastly, the two daughters, Taygete and Alcyone, are carried off by the two very chiefest gods, by Zeus and by Poseidon.

The ruling sentiment of the story of Hyacinthus is still further emphasized by the representations of heroes whose forms and fortunes sprang from the same suggestions, or at least attracted and assimilated them. Memnon (15), the most beautiful of all that fought at Troy, was the subject of devotional lamentations; and his slayer, Achilles, himself prematurely slain, was mourned by the women of Elis, with faces turned towards the setting sun. The apotheosis of Achilles at Leuca, associates him with both Helen (34) and Ino (45). Amphiaras (19) and Menelaus (42) are other instances of similar advancements after death; and Admetus, favoured of Apollo, owed at least prolonged existence to the self-sacrifice of Alcestis.

But if beauty and loveliness are mortal, if all that is bright

must fade, this is not because vitality throbs more healthily in hideousness and deformity. Those whom the gods love die young; the fair and the excellent that perish early, are snatched away, not without love, by the gods; or they quit their seat and sojourn here, not without a better compensation. Hence the lament for the disappointment of the beautiful is cheered by promise of its exaltation; and the certainty of this, to be assured, requires the declaration of the destiny of the mischievous,—to be disgraced, destroyed, extirpated. Hence, to minds alive to the expressiveness of the festival, and its natural types, the significance of that scheme of subjects which we found to arrange itself in four consecutive pairs of pairs. On this tablet are concentrated, not unmeaningly, three exploits of Hercules (27), and one of Bellerophon (26), of which the several victims are, Chimæra and Geryon, Hydra (22) and Cerberus (23). Tri-form monsters all, or polycephalous, they are united by blood alliance within a short paragraph of the theogony. Chrysaor, who sprang, together with Pegasus, from the severed neck of Medusa, begot three-headed Geryon in the embrace of Kallirhoe, daughter of Ocean, the mother of the portentous Echidna we have already passed. Tellurian Echidna bore to gusty Typhaon, Cerberus and Hydra; and from Hydra sprang Chimæra. Another offspring of Echidna was Orthios, dog of Geryon, often introduced, and probably on the throne, in scenes of his death. The inference forces itself upon us, that the artist chose and combined these examples of monstrous and disorderly offspring of nature wild and noisome, of foul haunts and explosive exhalations, to contrast with the bright and cheerful, the healthy and happier natural types of Hyacinthus and Polubois, the nurslings or favourites of all the developed and invigorating influences of earth, and air, and sky. The same principle is observable in the subject of the winged sons of Boreas (33) driving away the filthy harpies. The harpies sprang from, or became types of, winds, as certainly as Boreas himself; and we have here a corollary of the influences of Zephyrus in the con-

fict of opposed powers, of the winds potent for good and ill. Thus the honours and the fate of beauty, and of the excellence of which it is a type, that are set forth in the mythus of Hyacinthus, receive illustration and definition from the subjects associated with it on the throne, both by parallel and by contrast. But the illustration of beauty and its influence would be incomplete, or liable to misapprehension, in its free mythic sense, but for glances directed from yet another point of view. The rivalry and passion of Zephyrus and Apollo is kept in harmony by the parallel of Zeus and Poseidon (1), of the Dioscuri (10), of Hemera (13), and even Theseus (34); but admiration or love, in passionate exaltation, have yet to be sundered from violence; and this is effected by displaying the vengeance of Hercules on Nessus for his attempt on Deianira (17); the punishment of Tityus by the filial ire of Artemis and Apollo (36). Jealousy finds its type in the group of Herè and Io (20); the pursuit of Athene by Hephæstus verges upon that step which descends to the gay and the laughing in the allusion to the entrapping of Ares and his paramour, that lurks in the subject of the chorus of Phæacians and Demodocus singing (5); for even this was the subject of his song. The contest for the prize of beauty by Aphrodite, Herè, and Athene (18), the very goddesses who lead Hyacinthus to heaven (46), and who all occur, it may be remarked, in other subjects, on the same row or line, furnishes the highest example of the glory of beauty; and the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, an incident so rich in all the symbolism of order and political regulation, is witnessed by all the gods, who honour and contribute to the great seal of flourishing society, and celebrated by the hymenæal song of the Muses, themselves a cosmical quire.

If our theory of the significance of these subjects has any value whatever, it ought to receive vindication by some special reference to the mythus of Hyacinthus, of the subject of the quarrel of Amphiaræus and Lycurgus (19). The incident fully answers these demands upon it; for it is connected with the

institution of games, which, like those of the Hyacinthine festival, pertained to a funereal solemnity, and were set forth with funereal emblems. The seven chiefs allied against Thebes honoured thus the memory of Archemorus or Opheltēs, youthful son of Lycurgus, or that of Pronax, the father of another Lycurgus, who met his death either by a serpent, as his nurse was guiding them to a spring, or in some other unrecorded way dependent on the requirements of their expedition. It is Amphiaraus who, in most of the preserved versions of the story, appeases the ire of Eurydice, wife of Lycurgus, and mother of the infant; and this hint justifies us in completing the parallel but less perfectly preserved anecdote of the son of Pronax, by ascribing to him a like altercation with the same antagonist, Amphiaraus. Vases present us with many groups of quarrelling heroes separated by their friends; examples have been published in England by Mr. Birch, in the *Archæologia*. Other well-known vases exhibit the scene of the death of Archemorus, the intercession of Amphiaraus for the nurse, the Lemnian Hypsipyle, the corpse of the hapless youth on a bier; the funereal offices, the gods, and the nymph Nemea, associated with the games in his honour. Archemorus, by his age, would be the more exact antitype of Hyacinthus; but enough is preserved of the legend of Pronax to prove that he was little less so. The preference, for the sake of variety, of an analogy over a closely parallel example, appears again in the subject of the funeral offerings to the maturer and warlike Hector; and again in that of the funeral games in honour of the aged Pelias. There is something of the character of an *ἀγών*, it may be remarked, in the rendezvous of the goddesses, led by Hermes to Ida (18). Contests of beauty were quite familiar to the Greeks, and they could not be reminded of them more appropriately than on a monument consecrated to Apollo and the lovely Hyacinthus; indeed, Pausanias furnishes distinct record of the association of Aphrodite with the honours of the god of Amyclæ (30). Bathykles, it will be remembered, placed, not unconspectively,

ously, on the throne a chorus of his assistants, and probably a figure of himself in the midst of them. There is nothing in the expressions employed by Pausanias to preclude the possibility that they were a row of detached figures along the top of the throne. The Greek artists were prompt to assert their proper interest and dignity in their works. The recorded anecdotes of Pheidias and others are fully borne out by the practice of the vase painters, and by the assertions by Pindar of himself and of his craft: hence the peculiar patron of the workers in metal, Hephaistos,—the artist-god, is not left without honour. His pursuit of Athene (21), the wise, the warlike, yet, no less than himself, the encourager and protector of art, is deeply symbolic; and legends there are that intimate broadly that the pursuit was neither uninvited nor in vain. More obviously expressive of his specialties in reference to the actual dedication, is the group in which he was seen triumphant in his retaliation on Herè (40), caught fast and fixed in the throne that he had made for her, and in mock dutifulness presented. Demodocus singing to the chorus of Phæacians (5), is correspondent to Bathykses and his chorus,—not without design. What was the song of the bard, which the Phæacian dancers, by an art highly cultivated in antiquity, and delighted in, but now lost, and almost disbelieved, accompanied mimetically, as best they might, and as, no doubt, well they did? Again, a triumph, though somewhat of the ruefullest, of the smith Hephaistos, who again, with fine springes, has entrapped his enemies,—but one of them, alas! his wife. By the laws of Greek art, however, which are those of the most accurate sense of nature and nature's truth,—taste seems too confining an expression when Greek art is in question,—the subjects selected for the expression of technic sympathies must also have had an import by which to inosculate with that or those of the general dedication. Thus the fraudulent chair of Herè belonged to the story how Hephaistos gained his establishment in that heavenly seat which receives Dionusos (45), Herakles (11 and 47), Hyacinthus (46),

and is also found the vehicle of expression for the relation of elemental nature,—the agency of tellurian heat unlocking the frost-bound atmosphere and earth. In this sense, the return of the fire-god to Olympus expresses the revival of earth's fertility and genial airs, as explicitly as the return of the appeased Demeter, and the ascent of Kore to the upper world. (cf. *Hor. Od.* i, 4, 10.) The pursuit of the coy Athene by the fire-god has analogous significance; and such is abundantly traceable in the capture of Ares (5), the constant type of winter no less than war. Is not all this, however, set forth at large in sources notorious, and by authorities well accepted and acceptable? It is enough here to advert to the fact as furnishing another link of propriety to the mythic incidents, in addition to the obvious recommendations they possess as love passages.

It now remains that we should glance at the especial connection of the mythical subjects of the throne of Amyclæ with the history and genealogy of the tribes and populations among whom, and as an ornament for whose temple and festivals, it was erected and enriched by Magnesians Bathykses. The mythic stores of Greece were so varied and exuberant, that they afforded abundant incidents illustrative of any principle, theory, or moral, that might recommend itself to the artist. But this very richness of resources compelled to discrimination, that among many significant the most significant might be adopted. The selection was therefore required to be made under the control and guidance of many consenting proprieties, and thus to address and satisfy all the chief feelings and associations habitually present to the Greek mind. Among these, pride and pleasure in the mythic history of his own nation and tribe of the great Hellenic body, was ever predominant; this was a feeling that was in full force in the great historic period, and that it had descended from long ages in which it had constantly grown and strengthened, is the fact that gives to Greek mythology that historic value which would render it a most valuable study had its poetic and artistic merits been of the lowest instead of, as they are, the very highest character.

We may therefore confidently anticipate that we shall find on examination, that all the subjects we have been considering under their symbolical or artistic aspects, are derived from the mythic and semi-historical treasury of Laconian antiquities. Even in modern times we recognize the tendencies that struggled with adverse influences in the direction of a like development. It is not merely in the antique songs and hereditary tattoo of actual savages that this is seen; the emblems that have descended traditionally, with whatever falsification intermixed, as armorial bearings in the families and nations of modern Europe, are clung to, as all may have observed, and many must have felt, with a spirit that assuredly was not less strong five hundred years ago, and that is the best voucher of their general authenticity. Such is the case even with symbols that as materials for art are for ever hopeless; in themselves for the most part they have remained as they were originally, barbarous badges, either dumb, or of speech frivolous, when not nonsensical, and yet are they precisely the abuse of materials which a people like the Greeks, of plastic faculty and genius, and a lively utterance, would have fashioned and developed into creations of art, and associated with poetry that would have ennobled to all ages the historical traditions it attached to. There may be no remedy now, and no choice open, but to cover national monuments with rows of memorials which have a certain interest to the conventional sense, though to a purged sight, ugliness unredeemed; the Greek was more fortunate; the quarterings which he exhibited were no less historic, but associated with beauty and refinement, artistic, ethical, poetic, that crowned them with a glory, and gave them currency for all time as the very tests and types of civilization.

The two most important Greek races that figure in Lacedæmon in historical times are the Dorians, and secondarily the Minyans, who however were of far higher antiquity in the land. Both races traced their origin to Thessaly, to the banks and embouchure of the Peneus, and to the general precincts of the

country of the Magnetes, with whom, especially in the Argonautica, the Minyans are freely identified. Already in these northern seats, and in very remote age of Greek antiquities, the worship of Olympic Zeus and Delphic Apollo formed a tie among a great variety of tribes, and in the great Amphictyony that combined it with the Pelasgic type of Chthonian worship of Demeter, we have the same combination of Olympic and Chthonian worship that is so conspicuous among the monuments of Amyclæ. Abundant allusion to the mythology of these tribes appears on the throne of Bathykles; but time and the hour warn to be brief, and it will be most convenient to drop rapidly down the main stream of mythic history, and mark the illustrations as they pass swiftly by us.

The Leleges have an early renown in Laconia, but are of equivocal Hellenism, and leave no mythic trace. Their dynasty quickly resolves into that which is marked as autochthonous, springing from Zeus and the personified mountain chain of the country, Taygete. Hence arose Hyacinthus (46), the hero of our monuments, which explains the conspicuous place assigned to Taygete (1). Her sister Alcyone (1), grouped with her, was ancestress of the Minyan Euphemus, who is located at the Laconian promontory Tænarum, descendant and therefore worshipper of Poseidon, and the sufficient explanation of the abundant Poseidonian allusions of both altar and throne.

The next indication of importance is that of intercourse with Danaan Argos in the alliance of Œbalus with Gorgophone, daughter of the Perseus whose great exploit, alluded to in her name, is before us (6); and Tyndareus, the hero of a neighbouring group, was their offspring. To this and other Argive alliance may be ascribed one of the motives of the group of Here (20) and Io; variants yoke Tyndareus and Hyacinthus together as Œbalids.

The order of mythic history brings Pelops next, with whom the Achæans descended from Phthiotis upon the peninsula, afterwards named from him Peloponnesus, and where they

more or less gradually became the dominant race during an eventful period. Pelops, it is said, founded many cities in Laconia, and possibly Achæan interference may have caused the political change typified or recorded in the retirement of Tyndareus as an exile to Ætolia. The connection of Laconia with Ætolia, thus commenced, recurs in the sequel, and this concurrence of tradition explains the value assigned on the throne to Ætolian legends. Tyndareus marries Leda (48), the daughter of Ætolian Thestius—she was represented with her sisters on the Hyacinthine altar—and hence sprung Helen (34), and the Dioscuri, to whom such conspicuous places are given, both separately (28 and 29), and in their common enterprise of carrying off the daughters of Leucippus (9). They would also no doubt be represented as usual among the hunters of the Calydonian boar (31), with their cousin Meleager. Tyndareus is reinstated in his throne by Hercules, as an ally of whom apparently he is seen engaged in combat with Eurytus (8). Eurytus was hateful to Apollo, and it was at the temple of Amyclæ that Hercules obtained purification for the slaughter of Iphitus his son.

The mythological authorities of Bathykles probably considered that the Dorians at this period had already migrated from Tempe to their second seat between the mountain ranges of Ceta and Parnassus, and in proximity to Ætolia; the Ætolian adventures of Hercules with Achelous (39), and with Nessus (17) at the river Euenus, would no doubt convey to a Dorian Spartan the sense of the early alliance of the races.

The establishment of an Achæan dynasty is expressed by the marriage of Menelaus with Helen, and thus are opened all the associations with the Trojan cycle which find their expression in natural, as well as symbolic harmony, in the subjects of Peleus and infant Achilles (12), the combat of Achilles (15) and the son of Eos, the judgment of Paris (18), the funeral rites of Hector (44), the adventure of Menelaus with Proteus and his phocæ (42). It will be remarked that these subjects all occur in the right hand divisions, as if from a view to inti-

mate a certain historical sequence, though not so strictly as to interfere with the main interest, the symbolical and religious. The obsequies of Hector, whose sister Cassandra found her death and had her tomb at Amyclæ, are also a Theban reminiscence; such duty was imposed on Thebes by an oracle.

Amyclæ was the great seat in Laconia of memorials and traditions of the Atreidæ, and appears indeed to have been the city of Lacedæmon of the Homeric epics. Homer celebrates the architectural splendour of the palace; and a reference to this occurs again in a story, told by Apollodorus, of a relative of Hercules who was killed as he was admiring it. On good mythic grounds, Müller concluded that careful search could not fail to discover in this locality the ruins of constructions like the so-called treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and the like remains at Minyan Orchomenos; and so it has in fact turned out. Homeric students of the better vein will appreciate the coincidence that the alternation of grief and cheerfulness, of pity and vivacity, which corrected the tone and elasticity of the celebrations of the Hyacinthia, affords the very expression of the affectionateness of heart by which Homer preserves our respect for Menelaus (42).

πολλάκις ἐν μεγάροισι καθήμενος ἡμετέροισιν,
ἄλλοτε μὲν τε γόῳ φρένα τέρπομαι, ἄλλοτὲ δ' αὖτε
πάνομαι· ἀνγερὸς δὲ κόρον κρυερὸιο γόοιο. (Od. iv. 101.

Compare the entire incident, and especially the speech of Pisistratus, 190-202. The son of Menelaus has not casually the name of Megapenthes (25), and his Ætolian mother refers to the source of this symbolism in Sparta. The Æginetan festival, which I have elsewhere shown to be by symbols and usages parallel to the Hyacinthia, had a direct reference to those who perished at Troy.

The next great revolution averred by the traditions was the consequence of the invasion of Peloponnesus by the Dorian tribe, with allies from Ætolia, and doubtless, whatsoever others could be engaged—even Achæans and Athenians are spoken

of, but especially certain members of a Cadmeian tribe, the *Ægids*, closely connected also with the Orchomenian *Minyans*. The influence of this tribe in the expedition seems largely due, at least ascribed, to their affinity with the earlier *Minyan* population of *Amyclæ* and *Laconia* generally, and they figure in very important public events of a later date. Allusion to their origin appears on the throne, in the marriage of *Cadmus* and *Harmonia* (14); *Cadmeian*, of course, is the story of *Dionusos* with *Semele* and *Ino* (45); the story of the *Boreads* (33) is *Argo-nautic*, and thus *Minyan*; and those of *Admetus* (43), and *Pelias* (41), belong to the primeval seats of the race, as *Thes-salian* or *Magnesian*. The *Cadmeian Ægids* were especially connected with the festival of *Carneia* celebrated in honotir of *Amyclæan Apollo*. Semi-historical mythus goes on to tell how *Dorians* and *Minyans*, primitive, allied, or refugee from *Lemnos*, isle of *Hephæstus* (21 and 40), fell into dissensions, and large bodies of *Minyans* left for *Crete*, where they joined an earlier settlement of *Magnetes* in the territory of *Gortyna*, the locality of the adventure of *Theseus* and the *Minotaur*, that we have seen represented in more than one form among the sculptures of *Amyclæ* (4 and 38). The introduction of this subject we may ascribe to the patriotic sympathies of the artist. His native town on the *Mæander* was settled from the *Magnesia* of *Crete*, and in the midst of *Dorians* long avouched its origin by its *Æolian* tongue. The *Magnesian* of *Crete*, moreover, pretended—for reasons we cannot here pursue—to be of *Attic* origin by the mother's side. That the leaders of the *Minyan* colony from *Amyclæ* were *Spartans*, fully accounts for the ascription of *Asian Magnesia* to a *Lacedæmonian* founder.

Lastly, or nearly so, a wild tale of *Parthenius* preserves a glimpse of the associations that justified the single Asiatic subject of *Bellerophon* and the *Chimæra* (26). At *Magnesia*, as among the cities of the *Ionian* confederation, the *Glaucid* princes of *Lycia*, descendants of *Bellerophon*, were honoured, and for a certain period obeyed and followed. This connexion reminds

me that a namesake of Bathykles, the Magnesian artificer in bronze, is in the *Iliad* slain by a Lycian. So fell Bathykles, son of the wealthy Myrmidon, Chalkon. The name Chalkon may seem to have been invented simply to harmonize with the ascribed wealth, of which, as we find by the epithets of Troas, brass was a type, as well as and along with gold; but I have no doubt there is more in the coincidence,—of what nature will be comprehended by those who have insight into the theory of Greek proper names.

Such is a brief abstract of one of the most complicated webs of Greek tradition. The full details, which clemently I withhold, though they are beneath my hand, confirm the truly historical basis of associations and feelings so strictly social, which descended by an unbroken chain of tradition, received, retained, and delivered with the same liabilities to change, doubtless, but scarcely with more, than that surest of historical evidence, the dialect in which they were declared and sung.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

THE ORDER OF THE SCULPTURE

Chorus of Magnesians		
10. Hermes bears Dionusos to heaven.	11. Athene conducts Hercules to Olympus.	
9. Rape of Leucippides by the Dioscuri.		
6. Perseus and Medusa.	7. Hercules and giant Thurtus.	8. Tyndareus and Eurytus.
5. Demodocus singing; chorus of Phaeacians.		

ORNAMENTS OF END OR ARM.

28. Castor on horseback. Pardalis.
Sphinx.

ON EXTERIOR OF SUPPORTS OF THRONE.

Charis.	Echidna and Typhon. (round figures).	Hora.
Charis.		Hora.

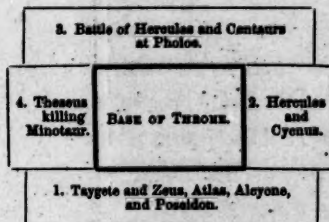
BELOW THE THRONE, AT

31. Hunt of Caly.	
32. Hercules and Aetolids.	33.
34. Theseus, Helen, Pirithous.	35. Her and Nemean.
37. Hercules and Centaur Orlos.	38.

SCULPTURAL DECORATIONS ON THE THRONE AND ALTAR OF AMYCLEAN APOLLO.

BACK OF THE THRONE.

Bathycles			Assistants.		
Hercu- s.	26. Bellerophon and Chimera.	27. Hercules and Ge- ryon.	13. Peleus commits Achilles to Chetron.	18. Hamars carries off Co- phalus.	
	24. Anaxias and Mnasithous on horses.	25. Megapenthes and Nicotratas on one horse.	14. The gods at the marriage of Harmonia.		
ous and rtus.	22. Hercules and Hydra.	23. Hercules and Cerberus.	15. Achilles and Memnon.	16. Hercules and Diomedes.	17. Hercules and Nessus.
s.	20. Heré and Io.	21. Athene and He- phæstia.	18. Hermes leads Goddesses to Paris.	19. Quarrel of Amphiarus and Lycurus.	



ORNAMENTS OF END OR ARM.

20. Polydeuces mounted. Lioness.
Sphinx.

THRONE, AT BACK OF ECHIDNA.

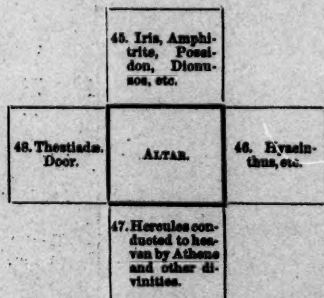
Hunt of Calydonian boar.	
ies and rida.	33. Boreads and Harpyia.
us, ous.	35. Hercules and Nemean lion.
ies and r Orestes.	36. Apollo, Thyus, Artemis.
	38. Theseus, and dead Minotaur.

BELOW THE THRONE, AT BACK OF TRITONS.

44. Funeral offerings to Hector.	
43. Menelaus and Proteus.	45. Admetus with lion and boar.
41. Acæstus, and funeral games of Pelias.	
39. Hercules and Achælus.	40. Heré and He- phæstus.

ON EXTERIOR OF SUPPORTS OF THRONE.

Hera.		Charis.
	Tritons. (round figures).	
Hera.		Charis.



ON THE TRUE SITUATION OF
CRAGUS, ANTICRAGUS, AND THE MASSICYTUS,
MOUNTAINS OF ASIA MINOR.

THE names of Cragus and Anticragus have generally been attributed to the mountains which lie to the west of the river Xanthus; the more northern part of the mountains being identified with Anticragus, and the southern with Cragus. There is, however, no authority for this nomenclature and division of the mountains. While Spratt, in his map of Lycia, gives the name of Anticragus to the important northern half of the mountains,—in which appropriation Mannert and Cramer concur,—Leake, in his *Remarks on Mr. Hoskyn's Narrative of a Journey of part of the South Coast of Asia Minor*, (*Journ. Roy. Soc.*, vol. xii.) refers the name to merely the northern extremity of the mountain, as Hoskyn himself uses it for the northern division of the mountain in its extension from west to east. But though the latter attributes the name of Cragus to the southern part of the mountain, he leaves the exact division of the two ranges to the opinion of the reader. This caution is likewise manifest in the maps by Fellows and Kiepert, who, perceiving that the mountain has no natural division, lose sight of Anticragus, and call the whole mountain by the general name of Cragus, without explaining how this can be made to agree with the account given to us by Strabo. This difficulty in the division of the mountain is, I conceive, unnecessary, as the real Cragus does not lie in this direction. It appears to me to be much more probably the Lycian Ak-
(white mountain,) to the east of Xanthus. The mountains

to the west of the river were indeed considered a part of the same formation, and called indifferently Cragus by the old geographers; but when they wished to distinguish them from those on the eastern bank, they gave them the name of Anticragus; and this name became eventually appropriated to the whole range of mountains along the coast. That this is the fact appears especially from Dionysius and Pliny. The former (*Perieg.* 848, et seq.) calls Cragus a part of Taurus, stretching from the mouth of the Xanthus to Pamphylia. This can only apply to the mountains lying to the east of the Xanthus, as those to the west of the river are separated from the Taurus mountains by the valley of the river, by the sea, and by the plain of Telmissus. Thus also it is defined by Pliny (v. 27). He calls Cragus that chain of mountains which extends from Taurus southward to the sea. Now Ak-dagh is properly a portion of another mountain; but the mountains to the west of the river form an insulated group, and consequently Pliny, as well as Dionysius, applies the name to the eastern mountains.

To enable us to decide upon this as the real Cragus, we must recollect what Ptolemy says. He describes the city Tlos as occupying the central point of Cragus, both in length and breadth. Now Tlos is known to lie on the western slope of Ak-dagh, and several hours' distant from the mountains to the west of the Xanthus; and this mountain not only attains the highest altitude of any of the mountains about Tlos; but it is likewise exactly central of the whole group.

The mountains which extend from the table-land of the Cibyratis, east of the Xanthus, down to Patara, form a single chain of mountains, being intercepted by no deep. This chain of hills evidently corresponds to the extension of Cragus from north to south, referred to by Ptolemy. As the extension from east to west, we must consider those mountains commencing at the western coast of Lycia, and continuing to the Plain of Almaloo; thus including also the mountains which lie to the west of the river Xanthus. Were it not so, Ptolemy could not

have made Tlos the centre of the chain, but the mountains lying east of that city. In further proof of these mountains being Cragus, we have a coin of Tlos, bearing the motto ΤΑΟΚΡ.

As, in a broad sense, the mountains on the west of Xanthus also constitute part of Cragus, so it cannot appear strange that Scylax here calls it Anticragus, and that Mela, who examined merely the coast of Lycia, speaks of a *Mons Cragus*. But Strabo's account does not accord with their opinion. After speaking of Telmissus, he says :

Εἰς ἐξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκρατος, ὄρθιον ὄρει, ἐφ' ᾧ Καρμυλησάντων χωρίον, ἐν φαραγγίῳ κείμενον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράτος, ἔχων ἄκραν ἐκτὴν, καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. Περὶ πάντων μυθεύεται τὰ ἐρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαιρας· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔσθωθεν καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα φέρεται τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγματοῦ ἀνατείνουσα. Ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Κράτῳ Πίναρα ἐν μεσογείᾳ.... Εἰς ὁ Πάνθοι ποταμὸς, κ.τ.λ. (*Geog.* xiv, 5.)

According to this, Anticragus would lie by Telmissus, and Cragus by Pinara, both of which are to the west of the Xanthus ; but Strabo cannot be supposed to signify this, for he knew that the Chimæra, as will be presently shewn, lay not to the west, but to the east of Xanthus ; and he therefore could not place Cragus, which lay in its immediate neighbourhood, to the west of the river. The passage is corrupted : every difficulty disappears if we read, Ὑπόκειται δὲ τῷ Ἀντικράτῳ, etc. As Strabo speaks first of Anticragus and its cities, then of Cragus, after which he approaches the Chimæra and the line of coast ; so on the termination of his description of Anticragus, the next city of the interior that he referred to would naturally be attributed to Cragus ; and thus the word Anticragus, in this passage, became changed to Cragus, without any respect or attention to the nature of the country. But Strabo has been led to this slight confusion in his narrative, by having been obliged to refer to Anticragus on occasion of speaking of Telmissus. This name obliges him afterwards to call the chief part of the mountain Cragus, though he could not deny that the ancients considered this mountain to join on to the wonderful Chimæra ; but then remembering that he has not named Pinara, one of the largest

cities of the interior of Lycia, as belonging to Anticragus, he reverts back with the words Ὑψέκταυς δὲ τῇ Ἀντικράγῳ to the before mentioned mountains.

If this changing of the text appears too violent, there must then be an inaccuracy of expression in the original passage: that is to say, we must assume that Strabo, instead of giving us the name of this particular portion of the mountain Anticragus, has given us the general name of the whole range, Cragus, an error which cannot be attributed to him: his accurate acquaintance with the true Cragus is proved by what follows, as indeed it is also by what he says of the Chimæra—ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἀπὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ καὶ πάλιν ὁμῶνυμον. Now Anticragus has no such peaks. One of the narrow slips of mountain contiguous to the coast has a distinguishable elevation only at its northern extremity, but the rest of the mountain is an ordinary ridge which is steep towards the west, but falls gradually towards the east, and presents nothing like eight summits. The necessity of finding such summits has occasioned the seven precipices called *Yedi-burris* (Seven Noses) to be taken for these eminences, but the mountains to the east of Xanthus have in reality eight bare, rocky, craggy summits, which must be what Strabo refers to.

The city Cragus has been vainly sought for on Anticragus, and as no other city but Sidyma could be found on these mountains, it has been conjectured that the ancient Cragus had passed into the modern name of Sidyma. The true situation of Cragus, however, on the mountains to the east of Xanthus cannot be mistaken. Among its ruins are several colossal fragments of sculpture, including some lions of very ancient character. The city lies toward the northern end of the pass which leads from the plain of Almaloo to Oenoanda, immediately under the highest peak, closed in by chains of mountains. Although at the beginning of April, there was still much snow, and their height must be about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. A small plain containing a not inconsiderable lake is in their immediate neighbourhood. The ruins of the city are

called by the Turks *Guerdes*, and must certainly represent the much looked for Cragus. It is therefore no longer doubtful that Strabo, with the other geographers, describes the Cragus mountains as lying to the east of Xanthus.

That Ak-dagh appears on the maps as Massicytus is only to be accounted for by the circumstance that Cragus had been already appropriated, and geographers were unwilling to leave the highest mountains of Lycia without a name. But this opinion is not supported by the authority of ancient geographers. Pliny says that Massicytus lay between Limyra and Andriace, and Ptolemy places on this mountain the cities Phellus, Myra, Rhodia, and Corydalla. The last city is on the eastern boundary of the mountain: it lies to the east of Limyra and Myra. The cities Rhodia, Corydalla, and Limyra, on one side, and Myra on the other, point unequivocally to the mountains about the valley of Arycanda as the true Massicytus; and this name must consequently be given not only to one of the northerly branches of the Taurus, but to the more westerly of the Cragus, and the more easterly of the Solymæ mountains, and to some others; but as Ptolemy describes Phellus as also being in the neighbourhood of Massicytus, so must at least the most southerly of the chain of mountains, which extending from the plain of Cassaba towards Antiphellus, be also included, if the mountains which border the plain of Almaloo be identical with those of Taurus, or more properly with Cragus. But it is surprising that Strabo, who describes all the other mountains of Lycia, does not mention the name of Massicytus, especially as several remarkable cities lay in this region. But I imagine that the reason of this name not appearing is because the text in the following passage has been corrupted—*Ἐν δὲ τῇ μασσιγυαίᾳ περὶ Φελλόν, καὶ Ἀντίφελλον, καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα, ἥτις ἐμνήσθημεν ἐπάνω.* The first words should run thus: *Ἐν δὲ τῇ Μασσιγυῳ.* Not only should we then find what we might have expected, the name of the mountain, and this in the place pointed out by other authorities, but thus also all the great difficulty would cease which the passage

in question has caused to geographers with reference to the situation of Phellus, Antiphellus, and the Chimæra.

The situation of Phellus has been clearly established by Ross, and in a situation not far from the line of coast. Antiphellus is a sea town, and therefore to neither of these can the expression *in the interior* apply: neither can it refer to the Chimæra,* for Strabo has previously stated that it formed one of the mountain defiles towards the coast. The position of Massicytus is therefore unquestionable: it lay on the coast between Bazirgianchoi and Antiphellus. The next traveller in these regions who searches for it will find it. We must hope that Captain Spratt, to whom we are already so much indebted with respect to Lycia, will make us acquainted with the particulars of this mountain also. So much at present for the Lycian mountains. We must be satisfied with conjectures and surmises, till he solves them, whose opinion every searcher of antiquity so highly respects, especially in reference to Asia Minor—Col. Leake.

A. SCHÖNBORN.

* In a former letter, Professor Schönborn states, "In the Massicytus mountains lay the celebrated defile of Chimæra, to the west of Antiphellus, perhaps that of Suaret."

constrained to believe that the only way of forming a correct idea of their number and extent is to take a map of the Roman empire, and attribute to every town or city shown thereon a temple, theatre, baths, triumphal arches, and the other usual evidences of Roman grandeur.

XI.

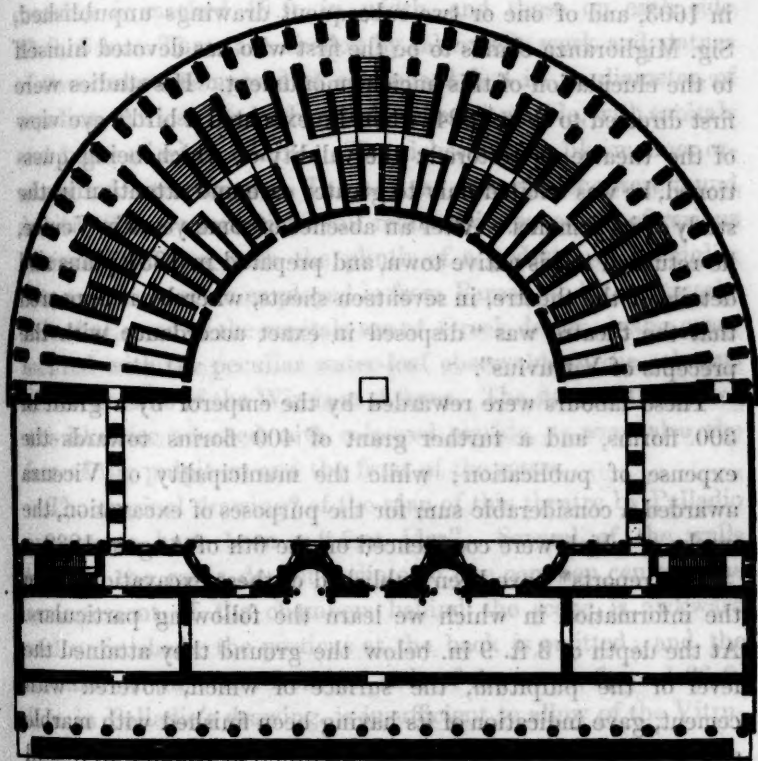
ON THE THEATRES OF VICENZA AND VERONA.

ONE of the circumstances which causes most astonishment to the mind, on considering the works of the Romans, is their exceeding number. It is true that the more general wonder is excited by their prodigious magnitude; and with this sentiment our imagination is naturally directed to the Colosseum and other monuments of Rome; the amphitheatres of Pola, Capua, and Verona; the temples and other structures of southern France; the arches of Benevento and Ancona; a few scattered monuments of the Rhine; a few villas in our own land; the extensive ruins of Baalbec, Palmyra, and Dalmatia; the aqueducts of the Campagna and the Pont du Gard; and we imagine that we can form a very definite idea of the nature and extent of the works of the Romans; and we are apt to fancy that these and some other monuments are preserved to our day by reason of their greater massiveness of construction or solidity of execution, and that their other works are perished on account of their inferior importance and dimensions. There are two ways of correcting this illusion: one is by considering the various countries in which such gigantic moles are found, as the vast countries of Asia, the burning coasts of Africa, the distant isle of Britain, and the extensive plains of Germany; the other is by a careful investigation of the antiquities of any limited district. We shall thus become acquainted with numerous and important remains, of the previous history of which we were entirely unacquainted, and which will appear so frequent, and rise up in such unexpected places, that we shall be

constrained to believe that the only way of forming a correct idea of their number and extent is to take a map of the Roman empire, and attribute to every town or city shown thereon a temple, theatre, baths, triumphal arches, and the other usual evidences of Roman grandeur.

It is probable that the reader is not aware that theatres, and those of no little magnitude, may still be traced in the ancient cities of Verona and Vicenza; and yet these places are not out of the common route of travellers, but are on one of the high roads of Italy. It is remarkable that each of these theatres is indebted for its excavation to a single individual. The theatre at Verona has been explored at the sole charge of Sig. Andrea Monga; and the theatre at Vicenza, though excavated at the expense of the Austrian government, the Academy of Venice, and the municipality of the place, owes its reappearance to the exertions of the architect Miglioranza, who has devoted his whole life to its accomplishment. It is to this theatre that I would first direct the attention of my readers.

THE THEATRE OF VICENZA.



Plan of the Theatre of Vicenza.—From Barbo's edition of Vitruvius.

In the vicinity of the Piazza de' Gualdi and S. Giuseppe and the Contrada de' SS. Apostoli, a stranger may behold a circular form of street, without having any idea of its real origin; but on entering one of the houses, he will at once perceive that the back fronts form one regular curve directed toward the straight line of what he might fancy to be the scene of an ancient theatre, and such indeed it proves to be. On more attentive consideration, the gardens of these houses will be seen to

decline toward one common centre, and the party fence walls will be found to represent the converging lines of the ancient scalæ.

With the exception of a rude drawing, published by Mazzari in 1603, and of one or two subsequent drawings unpublished, Sig. Miglioranza claims to be the first who has devoted himself to the elucidation of this ancient monument. His studies were first directed to it in 1824, when he executed a bird's eye view of the theatre as restored; the validity of which being questioned, he was excited only to greater care and attention in the study of its remains. After an absence of some years in Venice, he returned to his native town, and prepared in 1831 plans and details of the theatre, in seventeen sheets, whereby it appeared that the theatre was "disposed in exact accordance with the precepts of Vitruvius".

These labours were rewarded by the emperor by a grant of 300 florins, and a further grant of 400 florins towards the expense of publication; while the municipality of Vicenza awarded a considerable sum for the purposes of excavation, the works of which were commenced on the 6th of August 1838.

Two reports* have been published of these excavations, from the information in which we learn the following particulars. At the depth of 3 ft. 9 in. below the ground they attained the level of the pulpitum, the surface of which, covered with cement, gave indication of its having been finished with marble slabs $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, some of which, of different colours, were still in place. Other slabs of about half an inch in thickness, of African marble, cephelino, blood jasper, and other qualities, appear to have formed the lining of the pedestals. Many pieces of coloured stucco were discovered, from the existence of which it is supposed that some portions of the theatre were so decorated. The stucco is composed of coarse sand and pounded

* *Relazione intorno gli scavi intrapresi per l'illustrazione dell' antico teatro di Berga in Vicenza*, pp. 1-24, 1838, 1839.

terra-cotta, mixed with lime, and finished with a fine coating of pounded marble. The theatre is about 275 feet in diameter, and is of very beautiful plan. The scene is disposed in the form of three large niches, the centre one of which in Palladio's drawing is marked 48 ft. in width, and those on each side 33 ft. 6 in. These are divided by tabernacle work and statues of two orders, composed of columns 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter, of cepolino, African, and other dark-coloured marble, with capitals and bases of white marble. The niches were in like manner ornamented with columns. Those of the eastern niche were found *in situ*. The western niche still retained its pavement of various coloured marbles, with the plinth of a pedestal of bargiglio. Some of the marble employed is from Paros; and it is remarkable that some of the capitals are of Greek design, being ornamented with the peculiar water-leaf observable in the columns of the Temple of the Winds at Athens. The floor of the platea was likewise adorned with coloured marble, as were also the face of the pulpitum and the front of the scene.

The original drawing* of the plan of this theatre by Palladio appears to have been a "first idea". Several of the walls beneath the cavea do not radiate to one common centre; the arrangement of the chambers behind the scene is awkward and unfinished; the porticus at the back is omitted; and the distance of the scene from the ends of the cavea, figured 26 ft. 2 in. in Palladio's drawing, is insufficient to allow of the Vitruvian diagram.

The drawing which Palladio furnished to the Patriarch of Aquileia must have been the result of subsequent study and research. It is true that Barbaro does not publish it as the plan of the theatre at Vicenza, but as a Roman theatre; observing, however, that the theatre at Vicenza had afforded him *alquanto di lume*. The passage runs thus, and it is important in shewing that the scene of the theatre at Vicenza was sufficiently distant

* In the collection of the Duke of Devonshire. See pages 181, 182.

from the cavea to allow of the Vitruvian diagram being inscribed within the platea; which circumstance we find confirmed by Sig. Miglioranza. Speaking of the manner of drawing the four triangles, he says:—

“Non nigo però che ancho ad altro modo non si possa congiugnere, ed ancho dissegnare la Scena; ma con grande pensiero consultando questa cosa, della quale non ne havemo essemplio antico, insieme col nostro Palladio, si ha giudicato questa esser convenientissima forma: e di più siamo stati ajutati dalle ruine d'un teatro antico che si trova in Vicenza tra gli horti e le case d'alcuni cittadini, dove si scorgono tre nichi della scena, la dove noi havemo posto le tre porte, ed il nichio di mezzo è bello e grande, e ci ha dato alquanto di lume.”*

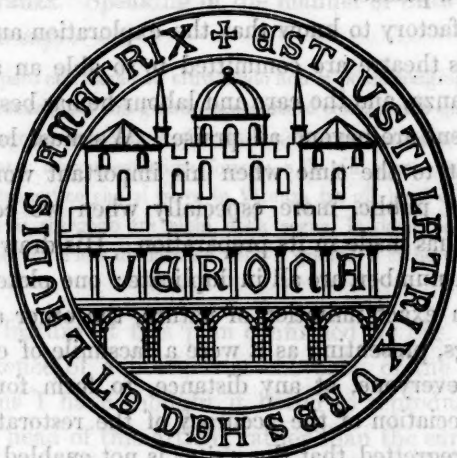
Another feature of this plan confirmed by Sig. Miglioranza is the existence of a porticus at the back of the scene. For these reasons I have thought it better to reproduce Barbaro's plan at the head of this article, rather than the earlier drawing by Palladio. Among the ornaments discovered in excavation are a circular disc and a mask, both of terra cotta; several fragments of marble statues, including the lower portion of a fine draped figure of a female; a colossal statue of a warrior; a colossal arm holding a globe in the left hand; another colossal left hand; a finely carved bull's head, forming the ornament of a keystone, 2 ft. 3 in. in height; and many other fragments. But the finest statue is one of Bacchus. It is almost nude, but has a pallium suspended from the left shoulder: it is one-fourth less than the size of nature. Another fine statue represents Augustus. The drapery of the female statue, above referred to, is of wonderful execution; the general effect is simple and easy, though the folds are undercut in an extraordinary manner, like the statues which served as decorations to the Ionic Heroum at Xanthus. Several fragments of bronze statues have also been discovered; and the whole of these remains are about to be disposed in the palace of the Chiericati family by Palladio,

* BARBARO, *I dieci libri dell' Architettura di M. Vitruvio*; fol., Vinegia, 1556; lib. v.

which has been purchased by the municipality for the purpose of forming a museum of ancient art—a noble destination for so magnificent a palace.

It is satisfactory to know that the exploration and measurement of this theatre are committed to so able an architect as Sig. Miglioranza, and the care and labour he has bestowed upon this monument are beyond all praise. We must look forward with interest to the time when his important work shall be given to the public, more especially when we consider the sacrifices he has made in its preparation. His drawings, which are eighty in number, are all in duplicate; one plate represents the object in exact imitation of nature, the other as restored. His drawings, presenting as it were a facsimile of every stone, will enable everyone, at any distance, to form for himself a correct appreciation of the accuracy of the restoration. It is much to be regretted that the writer is not enabled to present some indication of the result of these labours, but it would be unfair towards the indefatigable artist were he thus to forestall his subject.

THE THEATRE OF VERONA.



Seal of the City of Verona.

"Nobile, præcipuum, memorabile, grande Theatrum,
Ad decus extractum Sacra Verona tuum."*

During my artistic studies in the north of Italy in 1849, I paid the usual visit to the far-famed Verona.

"Magna et præclara pollet urbs in Italia
In partibus Venetiarum, ut docet Isidorus,
Quæ Verona vocitatur olim ab antiquitus.

Discere lingua non valet hujus Urbis schemata:
Intus nitet, foris candet, circumsepta, laminis
In sære pondos deauratos metalla communia."†

* These lines are placed by the side of the amphitheatre, in an ancient plan of Verona, which is supposed to have been executed by Raterio, bishop of Verona. It forms part of a manuscript in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Lobbia, near Cambrai. The theatre is there called *Arena Minor*, and the amphitheatre, *Theatrum*. But though these verses were applied to the amphitheatre by the monkish writer, it is probable he would have spoken of the theatre with even greater enthusiasm, had it been standing perfect in his time. By Berengarius the theatre is called *Medius Circus*.

† *Rhythmus Pipinianus*, stanzas i and vi. Supposed to have been written

After viewing the Amphitheatre, the triumphal arches, the walls, and the other well-known antiquities of Verona, with admiration and delight, I proceeded to Vicenza; where I had the fortune to make the acquaintance of the Abate Magrini,* and of the architect Sig. Miglioranza, who kindly pointed out to me the vestiges of the ancient theatre in that city, which I have just described, and then informed me of the fact of traces of a still more important theatre being visible at Verona; of the existence of each of which I was previously alike ignorant. I had passed through the city, and visited its various antiquities, but neither by my guide-book, nor by any of the natives, had I been led to expect the presence of such a monument.

I immediately resolved to return to Verona, and on so doing was amply repaid by beholding the remains of one of the most interesting and extraordinary of the monuments of antiquity which are in part preserved to us. On the left bank of the river, on the south-western slope of the hill called San Pietro, are the remains of an ancient theatre, above which on the steep slope of the hill were noble ambulatories, consisting of arcades and terraces, leading up to the summit of the hill on which stood the Roman Capitol. Beneath the theatre, and behind its scene, is the remaining portion of this grand structure, consisting of an artificial basin projecting into the bed of the river, and serving the purpose of a Naumachia. It is the triple character of these remains, which, viewed in their collective appearance, causes them to possess this unique and important character.

The traveller in regions once celebrated as the focus of civilization comes upon the ruins of many an ancient edifice, all associations of which are lost; he discovers the traces of once

between the years 781 and 807. Dionisi, *Il Ritmo del Anonimo Pip.*; 4to., Ver., 1773, p. 29.

* Author of the *Life and Works of Palladio*, and of many other writings on the history and antiquities of his native city.

opulent cities, the very names of which are unknown, and thus it is not extraordinary that we can adduce nothing in elucidation of the early history of this theatre. Almost the first evidence we have of the existence of this monument is the edict for its destruction. In the ninth century the vaults of the theatre served as refuge to several poor families, but some of these vaults falling in, and occasioning the death of nearly forty persons, Berengarius, king of Italy, residing then at Verona, issued a decree allowing anyone to take down portions of this or other ancient monuments which threatened ruin.

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Eternal God.

"A certain part of the theatre which is in the city of Verona, and situate beneath the castle, having fallen down not very long ago, by reason of its very great antiquity, and destroyed all the houses which were below it, and caused the sudden death of nearly forty persons, we, at the entreaties of Adelard, bishop of the holy church of Verona, and of all the clergy and people of the city, and for the love of our successors, and for the salvation of our soul, by this edict of our sovereign command, allow to the holy church of Verona, and to all the clergy and people of the city, and to all the inhabitants beneath the castle, that if any such public building near the bridge threaten ruin, or, in the opinion of any one, endanger to him loss or damage, they may, without fear of offending the public interests, or without let or hindrance, pull down, as may seem necessary, such public building, even to its foundation" * * *

"4 Nones of May 895, in the ninth of Berengarius."

Shortly after this, we find a second decree of Berengarius, granting a portion of the ruins to his chancellor, and referring to a previous grant of some other arches.

"In the name of our Lord, the Eternal God,
Berengarius, by the grace of God, king.

"At the request of Count Grimaldo, the king grants to his chancellor, Giovanni Chierico, a small quantity of land called the Arena del Castello Veronese, with its arches and vaults, and a small quantity of ground in front of the same, where the entrances from the east and south are situate, and where the highest portion of the theatre wall exists; with the exception of those vaults, thirteen in number, already given to Azzo del Castello, which said piece of ground measures 10 perches (60 feet) in length on one side, by 7 in length on the other side; and having 2 perches in breadth on one side, and 6 on the other, of precise measurement, bounded on the east and north by the public and royal

buildings, on the west by the property of the said Giov. Chierico, and on the south by the public road" * * *

"Dated 6 kal. June 913, 26th of Berengarius.

The ground here given to the chancellor, or the adjoining property which he previously held, appears to have been occupied by a house; for by his will, dated A.D. 922, he describes it as dedicated to S. Siro. This subsequently became the church of SS. Siro and Libera, shewn on plan, page 180, by letter (c).

The earliest of modern writers who has entered into any description of this theatre is Sarayna. He compiled his history in 1540, and employed a skilful painter, of the name of Caroto, to prepare drawings for his publication. His want of architectural precision in plan-drawing is made up for by his imaginative and artistic feeling. No doubt but that even in the sixteenth century the theatre was much buried, and it must have required long investigation to enable an antiquary to form a correct idea of the general detail and arrangement. But though this artistic license was allowable in the painter, it is less excusable in the historian, and we must regret that Sarayna and Canobio were not more precise in their notices of this theatre: they occupy themselves in a description of Caroto's drawings rather than of the monument itself.

In 1757 an excavation was made in the house of Fontana, situate between the Piazza S. Libera and the Piazza del Redentore, and the following objects were found:—many squared stones of good workmanship; pieces of African marble, and of other rare descriptions, including lapis lazuli; some coins which passed into the Muselli collection; a portion of a colossal foot of bronze and of beautiful workmanship; fragments of plain columns, 2 feet diameter; others of spiral columns; many fragments of white marble statues, architraves, and cornices, and a Corinthian capital, all which were collected by Dr. Fidele Fontana, who generously presented them to the municipal library.

During the three following years were found part of a column

of verde antico, 18 inches diameter; several other columns; two pilasters, *in situ*, similar in form, size, and character, to those of the Amphitheatre. These, unhappily, were destroyed in order to use the materials for the Ponte delle Navi, then in course of reconstruction; and at the same time columns of the richest marble were sawn in slabs for the construction of an altar in the church of S. Marco, and for the high altar of the church of Bovolone.

In 1780, while some men were at work behind the church of SS. Siro and Libera, and near that of S. Girolamo, the earth falling in disclosed to view a subterranean corridor, of about 8 feet in width, which ran between the theatre and the mountain. The whole was then covered in entirely to conceal the aperture.

About 1816, a Sig. Detogni, whose house occupied a portion of the site of this theatre, was reminded of the fact in consequence of the loss of a duck. The animal had fallen into a hole, and some days after, hearing its cry proceeding from the ground, he became sensible of the existence of some hollow chamber. He immediately caused this to be opened, and discovered a corridor and several rows of seats contiguous to one of the scale.

The theatre remained in this state till 1836, when Sig. Andrea Monga conceived the idea of acquiring the whole of the ground occupied by the theatre, and of devoting a yearly sum to its excavation. This resolve he immediately put into execution, and from that period has continued with untiring assiduity to prosecute the accomplishment of this great object. For this purpose Sig. Monga has had to purchase a small church, with houses and lands in the occupation of nearly thirty individuals; and when we consider the prodigious size of these ancient theatres, and the enormous cost of their erection, we must be struck with admiration at the generous exertions which have been made by a single individual, in order to form a correct idea of the integrity of the original structure, by bringing to

light those portions which were still preserved from destruction by the accumulation of soil and ruins over them.

A description of these excavations was published in 1845, by Consigliere Gaetano Pinali, to whom I am indebted for many of these details. The other authorities upon which this description is founded, in addition to the various historians of Verona, are:—

A plan, and very spirited external and internal views, of this edifice, with details of the several parts, as restored by Giovanni Caroto, painter, in 1540; the external view representing the Naumachia; and the internal, the Ambulacrum and Capitolium.

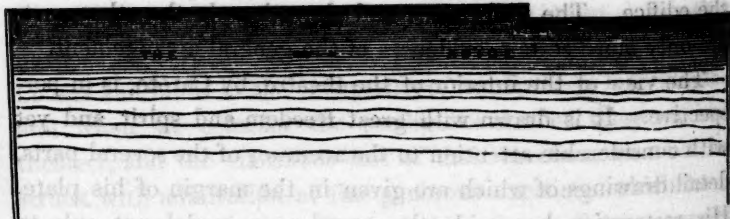
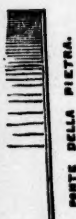
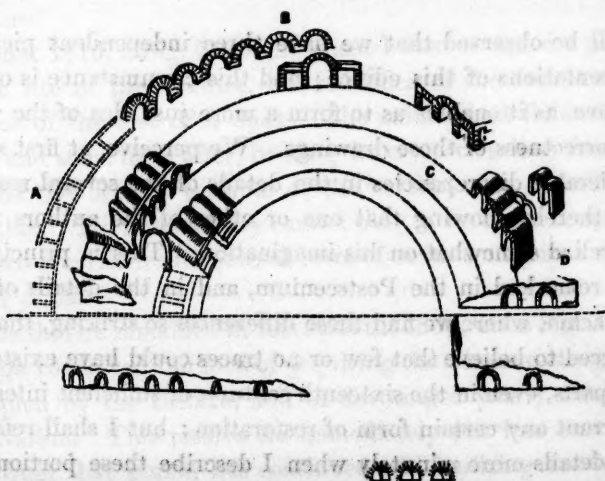
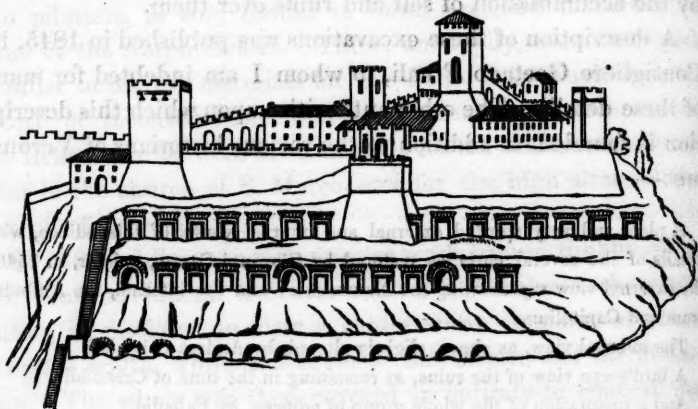
The internal view, as above, slightly altered, by Andrea Cristofali.

A bird's-eye view of the ruins, as remaining in the time of Cristofali.

And a restoration of the whole group of edifices, by Palladio.

It will be observed that we have three independent pictorial representations of this edifice; and this circumstance is of importance, as it enables us to form a more just idea of the value and correctness of these drawings. We perceive, at first sight, considerable discrepancies in the details of the several restorations, thereby showing that one or other of the authors must have relied somewhat on his imagination. This is principally to be remarked in the Postscenium, and in the details of the Naumachia, where we find these differences so striking, that we are forced to believe that few or no traces could have existed of these parts, even in the sixteenth century, of sufficient integrity to warrant any certain form of restoration; but I shall refer to these details more minutely when I describe these portions of the edifice. The differences and alterations in the other parts are only more certain evidences of the general arrangement.

The view of the interior of the theatre, by Caroto, is in perspective. It is drawn with great freedom and spirit, and yet with considerable attention to the accuracy of the several parts, detail drawings of which are given in the margin of his plate. His restoration has evidently served as a model, not only to Cristofali, but to Palladio. His drawings were published first



Bird's-eye View of the Theatre of Verona, as existing in 1740. By Cristofall.

by Sarayna in 1540; subsequently by himself in 1560; and they have been republished in 1764. The drawings by Cristofali were prepared under the direction of Ramanzini, who thus speaks of them: "Queste reliquie del teatro, siccome tali e sì fatte, che si può ancora per esse conoscer benissimo qual fosse l'ordine e la struttura di quel meraviglioso edificio, quindi abbiám avuto cura che pel nostro Adriano Cristofali raccolte fossero e in disegno poste come a' tempi nostri si veggon nel colle, nelle case e chiese appiè di quello edificate."* We may therefore regard this drawing, showing as it does the state of the building in his time, in its ruined condition, and without restoration, as of incontrovertible authority.

The drawings by Palladio are in elevation. They represent the building as restored, but dimensions are put to the several parts, which give them the appearance of being founded on the admeasurement of the ruins then extant. From the regularity of these dimensions, it may be suspected that some of them, at least, are conjectural, and founded upon his knowledge of the harmony of proportion and the laws of composition, rather than upon the measurement of the actual remains.

It is probable that this great architect was conversant with the restoration by Caroto, the general principles of which he approved of and adopted. His detail is purer, his drawing more architectural, his proportions more regular, his additions less capricious, but the general features are the same; and this circumstance affords us strong confirmation for the general accuracy of the restoration, at the same time that it shows the importance which was attached by the older architects to the imaginative restorations of ancient monuments, as an exercise of the mind and an improvement of taste.

These drawings, from their importance and great interest, I have taken as the basis of my illustrations. I had the fortune to discover them in the magnificent collection of original and

* *Suppl. alla Cronica di Zagata*, vol. ii, Pt. II, in principio, 1749.

unedited drawings by Palladio, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, who has kindly permitted me to copy them for insertion in this journal.

The theatre at Verona is supposed to have been built about the time of Augustus.* It was built on the slope of a hill, afterwards called S. Pietro, from an ancient Christian church which formerly occupied its summit. The stone of which its walls are composed was quarried from the same site which the theatre afterwards occupied.† According to the general practice of the ancients, the slope of the hill was taken advantage of for the inclined line of the seats, so as to diminish the cost of construction. Caroto, followed by Sarayna, Canobio, and later writers, state the diameter to be 360 *piedi Veronesi*; but by recent measurement, Sig. Monga makes it 380. Da Persico states it at 115·713 mètres, which are equivalent to 378 feet English. Palladio calls it 322½, which he makes equal to 389 *piedi antiquo*, (sic,) which are nearly identical with so many English feet; the length of a piede antiquo being marked off on the margin, and measuring 11·7 inches.‡ The scene is shown, both by Caroto and Palladio, as of equal width with the diameter of the cavea, a disposition which is contrary to the usual custom, but which may have been considered desirable for the purposes of the Naumachia. The Proscenium is approached by three handsome doorways, 10 ft. 6 ins. wide,§ one of which existed in 1583, in the house of Michele dell' Orefice.|| In front of the stage are some stones fitted into holes, the purport of which seems to have been to receive wooden standards for the enlargement of the stage, on occasions when, for gymnastic or other purposes, a greater width was deemed desirable. A similar arrangement may be observed at Segeste, Taormina, Orange, and many other theatres. The cavea is made to consist of

* Panvinus, *Ant. Ver.*

† Canobio, *Ann. Suppl. al Zagata*, ii, 303.

‡ The piede Veronese is marked off on the margin of a drawing by Caroto, as 13½ inches English.

§ Caroto.

|| Canobio, p. 306.

thirty-five rows of seats, by Caroto; or thirty-four, according to Palladio. I have shewn thirty-eight in the accompanying view, considering that a theatre of about 380 feet would require so many to reduce the platea to its usual proportion. Calculating the accommodation according to the standard marked upon the seats of the theatre at Pompeii, it must have held 16,000 persons. The cavea was divided into cunei by five lines of scalæ extending the whole length, and five upper lines, extending from the line of præincinctio to the portico at top. This portico consisted of thirty-nine arches* of the Ionic order.† Over this is a solarium, or upper gallery, open to the sky,‡ with a wall at back 20 ft. 6 ins. high, the summit of which ranges with the top of scene. This portico is among the most interesting features of the theatre. Several portions of the piers have been discovered by Sig. Monga, on the sides of which are engraved the names of their ancient proprietors, among which we perceive several of the female sex. One of these arches has been rebuilt by Sig. Monga in its original position, from the broken fragments found at the bottom of the cavea, where they had fallen from the inferior galleries. Among the names so presented are FABULLÆ, VALERIA, and SEVERA, the existence of which Sig. Pinali considers as evidence of the upper præincinctio or portico being appropriated to the female sex, and therefore as rendering it difficult to explain the assertion of Calphurnius, that—

"Venimus ad sedes ubi pulla sordida veste
Inter fœmineas spectabat turba cathedras."

This arcade is of the Ionic order; the columns have Attic bases, without plinths. The keystone of one of the arches is decorated with a bull's head, like those of the large arches at each extremity of the orchestra. The Cavea was enclosed by an arcade

* Palladio. Caroto makes forty-one.

† Pinali, *Relazioni*, etc. Caroto represents them as Doric, and Palladio as Corinthian; but by recent excavations they are shown to be Ionic.

‡ Caroto represents it as enclosed, and having small square windows in front.

in two orders; Doric below, and Ionic above. Some of these arches, at the eastern extremity of the cavea, were standing only a few years ago; and it was of these arches that Palladio spoke, when he directed that the breadth of the pier should be equal to that of the arch, "as in the theatre at Verona".* The arches just referred to have been repaired by Sig. Monga, but in such a manner that the new work can readily be distinguished from the old. At each extremity of the cavea is a noble staircase, as in the theatre at Taormina, giving access to the præcinction and upper portico.

It is to be regretted that the plan of this theatre, as given by Palladio, is very imperfect; probably from the vestiges above ground not being sufficiently entire, even in his time, to enable him to take his measurements with any certainty. It is drawn on the back of one of the other drawings, and looks, indeed, like an unfinished sketch. None of the columns or other ornamental features of the Proscenium are shewn in plan, though they are represented in the section. In like manner, the nineteen seats of the Naumachia do not appear in Palladio's plan, but he shows them in his section, and I have therefore inserted them in the accompanying plan, in order to make it more complete; for which same reason I have also indicated the seats in one half of the theatre. A projecting arcade is observable on plan, jutting out from each extremity of the cavea. This is still standing, and a plan of it by Sig. Lisandro Castangioglu, has been published in the *Bullettino* of the Institute. By having an angle column at the extremity, it appears to have turned round and formed a cortile, and perhaps united with the Postscenium or river-front next the Naumachia, as shown by the dotted lines.

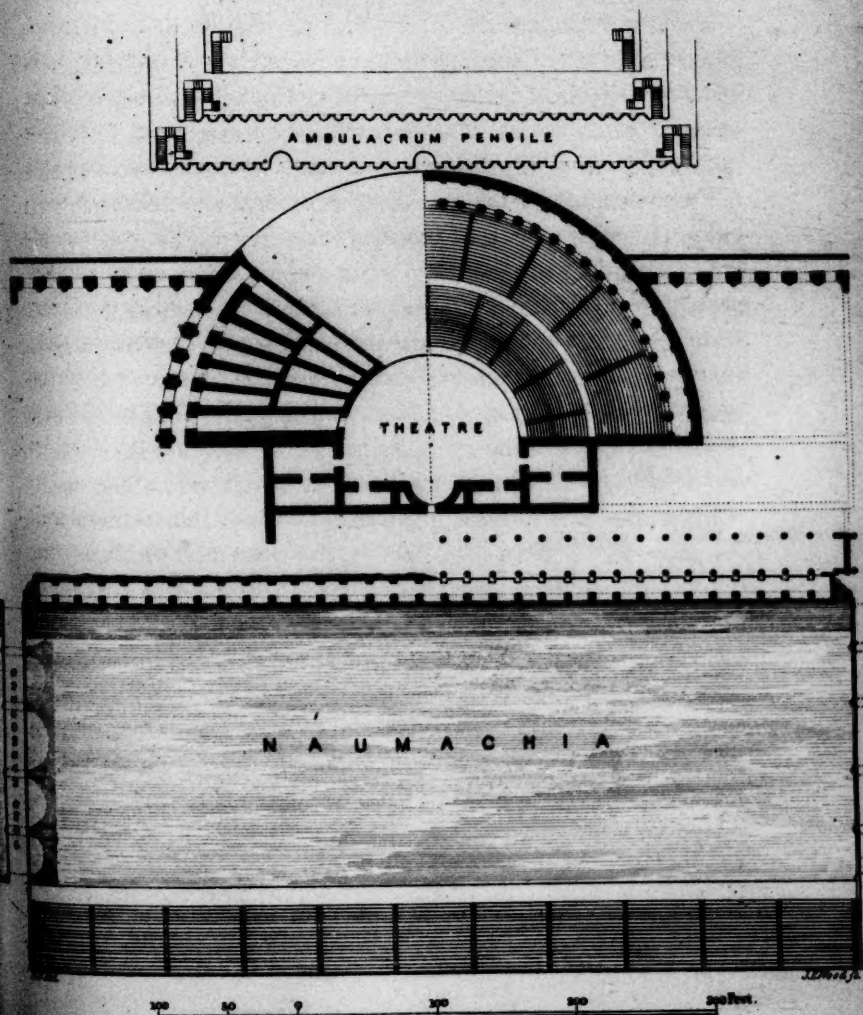
The theatre being built on the slope of a hill, it became necessary to protect it from being flooded by the waters which would rush down the face of the cliff. This has been done by cutting a trench, 6 ft. 6 ins. wide, and 32 ft. 6 ins. deep, which runs round so much of the outer wall as abuts upon the hill

* Palladio, *Arch.* i, 13.

THEATRE OF VERONA.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED DRAWING BY PALLADIO.

IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.





and then disgorge itself into the river beneath. The interstice is filled in at intervals with cubes of hard stone, to give support to the walls of the structure. Desirous of ascertaining the whole economy of the theatre, Sig. Monga opened the sewer which traverses the orchestra, and found that one branch is continued in a semicircular direction, and the other in a straight line, till they meet together, and then proceed towards the river. Another means of draining appears to have been afforded by some of the columns being hollowed to receive terra-cotta pipes. They are described by Dr. Emil Braun, (*Bull. dell' Inst.* 1837, p. 175.)

Within the sewer just described, and immediately beneath the entrance to the platea, the excavator discovered several interesting objects of antiquity, among which was a caryatide of Greek marble, but without a head, adjoining which was a fragment of cornice and trabeation, from the appearance of which it was considered that they must have formed part of a throne or *palco*, adorned with two caryatides, of a similar nature to those in the theatre at Pompeii. It would be impossible to give a detailed account of all the objects found in these excavations, comprising columns of Greek marble, of African, and verde-antico; white marble, basalt, and bronze statues: many pelta-shaped shields, sculptured on both sides, with representations of Silenus, sphinxes, panthers, dancers, etc. These latter were furnished with rings at their upper extremities, for the purpose of being suspended in the intercolumns. From the immense number of these accessorial ornaments, whether we regard form or material, we may entertain some idea of the richness with which the scenes of the ancient theatres were decorated.* It was while excavating at the eastern wing of the theatre, that Sig. Monga came upon a deposit of sculptured remains, the care in protecting which seemed to denote the

* The scene of the theatre of Scaurus was adorned with three hundred and sixty marble columns, 38 feet high, the second order of columns being of glass, and with three hundred bronze statues. (Plin. xxxvi, 5.)

great estimation in which these objects were held. Among them were four hermal figures, of equal size, and quite perfect, representing Bacchus, Silenus, Thalia, and Melpomene, all crowned with ivy, and richly adorned. A considerable sum of money was offered for these sculptures; but Sig. Monga, with noble liberality, presented them to the Veronese Museum, that they might be inspected by everyone in their native place. But the most numerous objects found were portions of the architectural decorations, columns, capitals, cornices, etc., of native and oriental marbles. In some of the blocks, which contained the cornice of the upper or Ionic order, are square holes, which held the masts of the velarium.

The bulk of the theatre is of the stone of the country; the ornamental parts only are of more costly material. The capitals and other decorative parts are of white marble, and the rest of the structure of red stone; in the cavea the scalæ are of red stone, and the seats of white marble. This employment of stone of different colours is observable also in the Amphitheatre. The columns of the Doric order, both of the theatre and of the terraces above, have a circular plinth instead of a moulded base, a detail which we find in the theatre of Marcellus, and which Palladio has imitated in his basilica of Vicenza. The columns of the theatre at Verona are rather larger than those of the theatre of Marcellus. Caroto describes them as 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter. Palladio figures them as 24 ft. in height.

AMBULACRUM PENSILE.

A constant appendage to the ancient theatre was the porticus, the usual position of which was behind the scene. The example before us is remarkable, and indeed unique, in exhibiting this luxurious adjunct to the theatre in the form of hanging gardens, in a series of terraces one immediately above another, decorated and enlivened with statues and colonnades.

This series of terraces was ornamented with porticoes and other accessories.* The labour of ascending these terraces would be abundantly repaid by the exquisite and varying view afforded, as the spectators climbed sometimes in one direction, sometimes in another, till they reached the summit, and enjoyed at their ease the splendid view laid out before them.

The river Adige intersects Verona in a similar serpentine form to the course of the Grand Canal at Venice. On a bend of this river, looking towards the west, stood the ancient theatre, surmounted by the terraces I have described. The amenity of the aspect of this hill, its commanding position, and its fine prospect, caused it to be selected as a favourite residence by the kings of Italy. Maffei thus speaks of it:—"On crossing the Ponte della Pietra, we are immediately struck with the immensity of the space, divided in various terraces, and the incomparable beauty of the situation; for the lowermost ancient wall rises immediately above the Adige, and the last is under the wall of the castle, at the very summit of the hill. To build this castle much of that which was below was taken down and destroyed."† The castle was dismantled in 1797, up to which time the terraces had formed a favourite walk for the inhabitants of the town.‡

My visit to Verona being immediately after the Austrian reconquest of Lombardy, I was not permitted to examine these terraces, much less to climb the summit, as the commanding position of the hill, immediately overlooking the whole city, was esteemed too important to allow strangers to approach unnecessarily.

The terraces are said to be of equal length with the diameter of the theatre. They are distinctly recognizable even in a view taken so late as 1820,§ which represents five arches remaining

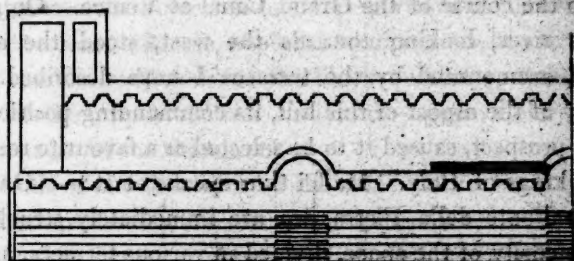
* Maffei, *Verona Illust.* 8vo. Ver., 1732; vol. iii, p. 68. † *Id.*, p. 64.

‡ Venturi, *Compendio della Storia sacra e prof. di Ver.* 2^a ediz. 4to., Ver. 1825; i, 161.

§ *Id.*, vol. ii, tav. ult.

at top, and two at bottom next the river, forming the façade of the Naumachia.

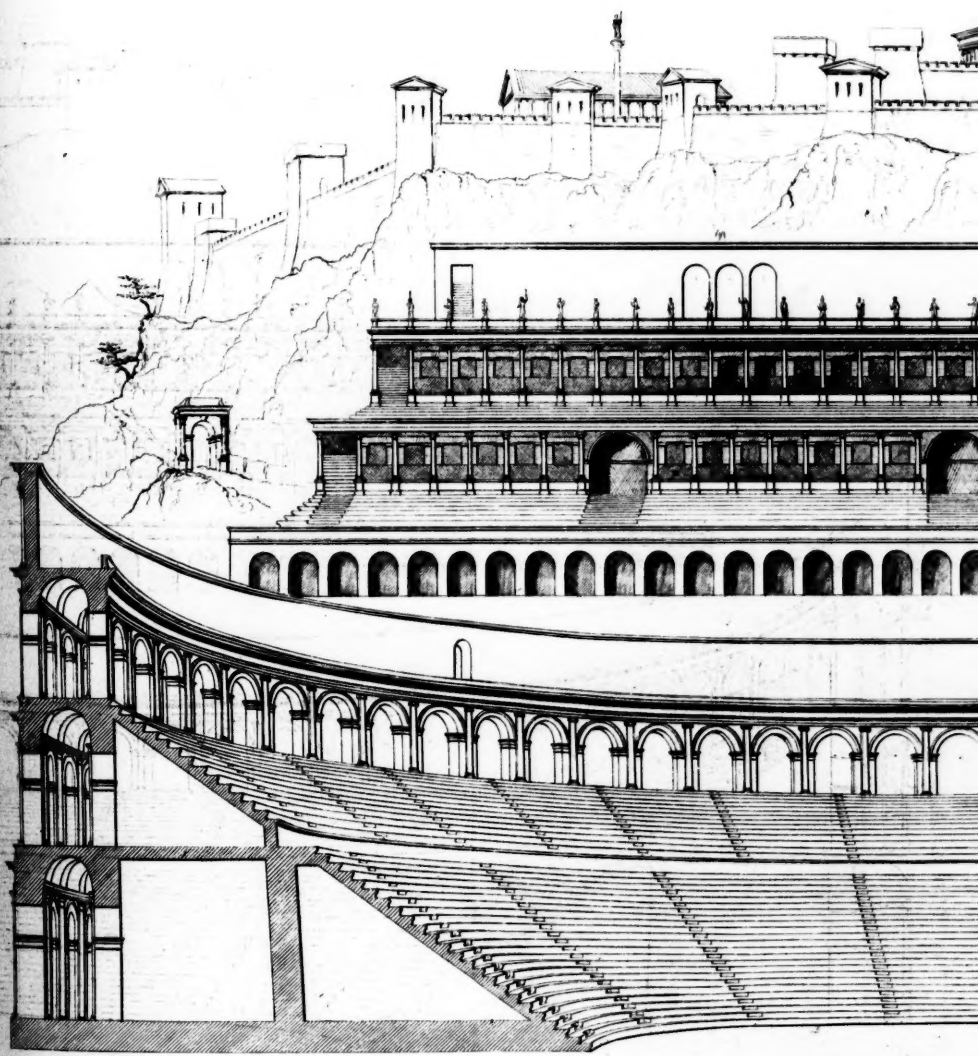
The lowermost portion of the edifice, shown in the accompanying illustration, is a row of simple arches. They are represented neither by Caroto nor Palladio, but they are very carefully noted by Cristofali, in his bird's eye plan. Above the Caroto shows a terrace 25 feet wide, from which rises a row of



Plan of Ambulacrum--From Caroto.

seven seats, with scaelæ at regular distances, as in the theatre beneath. These lead up to the first loggia, the general characteristics of which are alike in the several authorities, differing only in the number and disposition of the niches.* Details of each loggia are given both by Caroto and Palladio, with measurements carefully affixed. In the accompanying illustration I have followed the arrangement by Palladio, in which we see in the lower loggia, four clusters of seven intercolumniations of $9\frac{1}{2}$ ancient feet from centre to centre, divided by three large niches, each equal to two intercolumniations in width. This order is Doric. The upper loggia, which is Ionic, starts with its columns alternately over this, and consists of 31 intercolumniations, all of equal width. Each tier of these loggias is figured as being 20 feet in height, including its pedestal and cornice. Caroto describes three arches of intercolumniations in this upper loggia as remaining in his time. It had a terrace

* Caroto represents eight small intercolumniations on each side of the niches. Cristofali shows only four, and places a circular niche at each extremity.

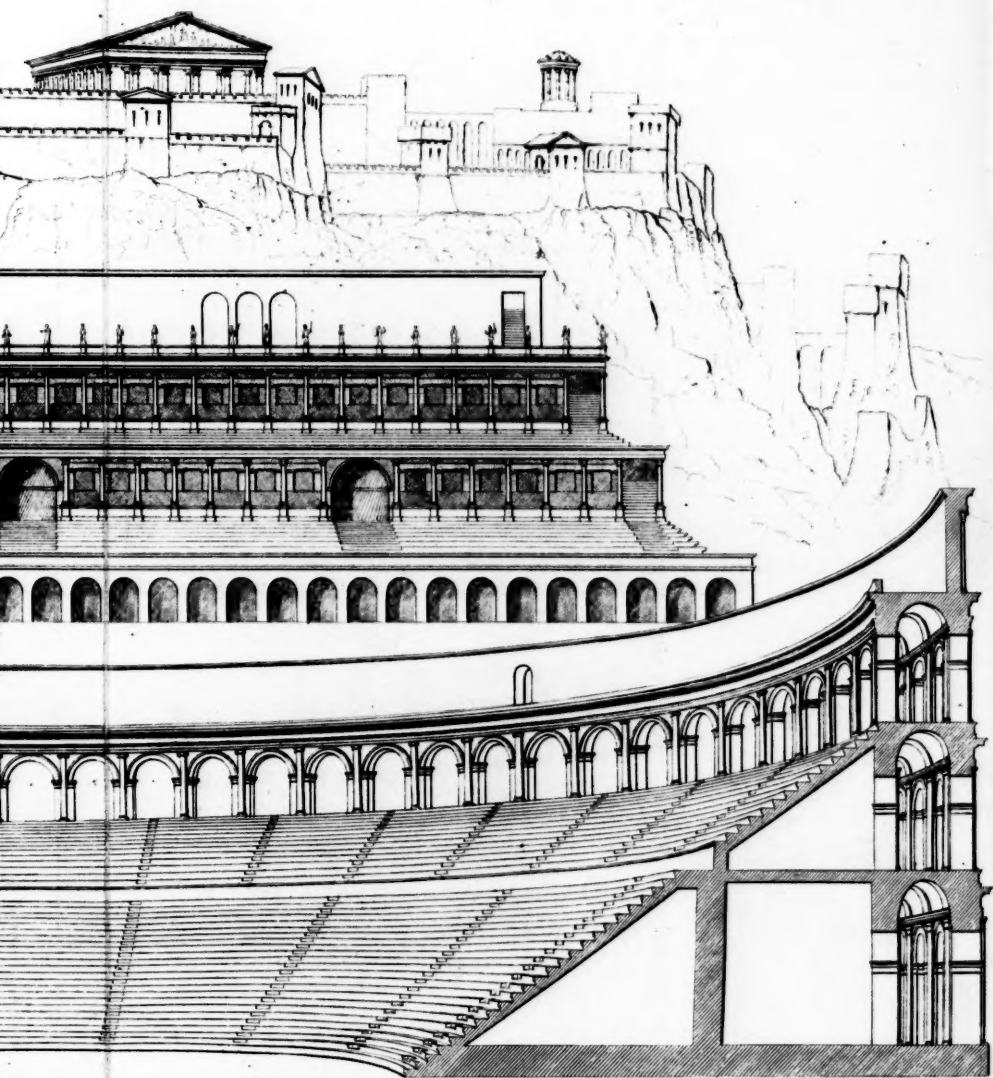


THE THEATRE

THE THEATRE

WITH ITS AMBULACRUM

RESTORED BY E. FALKENER, FROM DRAWINGS



RE AT VERONA.

BULACRUM PENSILE.

INGS BY PALLADIO, CAROTO AND CRISTOFALI.

ent, from which it was raised by a few steps. Stairs are shown in the extreme arches, leading to the Capitolium above. The back wall of the intercolumniations is filled with reticulated masonry, which Canobio describes as having once been covered with mosaic,* but which Venturi asserts was decorated with fresco-painting:† perhaps both. The pavement in front is of marble.‡ Above the upper loggia is a wall 20 feet in height, with two groups of treble arches, giving access to the summit. The terraces have been restored by Sig. Monga, who strengthened them at their western extremity by arched constructions; and he has planted trees along their length, to give some slight idea of their original appearance.

The summit of the hill formed the ancient *Capitolium*,—

“Castro magno et excelso firma propugnacula”.§

Many cities of the Roman empire had their capitolium, in fond imitation of the splendour of the metropolis; in the same manner that, at Padua, and other cities once subject to the Venetian republic, we find the lion of S. Mark, and other emblems of the queen of the Adriatic.|| The title appears on a statue in the museum at Verona, where, it is said, that it lay for some time neglected in the Capitol,—“in Capitolio diu jacentem”.¶ This is generally believed to have existed an ancient temple, which is vulgarly attributed to Janus or to Jupiter.** This is supposed to have been succeeded by the palace of the Longobards, built by Theodoric. This king erected a magnificent palace, and surrounded it by a portico communicating with the city. He also restored the ancient aqueduct, and

* Suppl. Zagata, ii, ii, 307.

† Belli, *Ver. Illust.*, iii, 68.

‡ They have since been removed by the Austrians.

§ Belli, *Ver. Illust.*, Insc., No. XLV.

† Venturi, *Compend.*, i, 22.

§ *Rhythmus Pipinianus*.

Caroto exhibits a fantastic temple, crowned with an octagonal dome. Palazzo shows an equally capricious Palladian rotunda, flanked by a Corinthian arcade of five arches on each side; the columns of which are figured as 20 feet high. Caroto shows a similar arcade.

attached Thermæ to his palace.* In ancient documents we find palatia described in different parts of the city. Some refer to the palace as being near the Regaste,† and it is shown in this position in the ancient plan of Verona already referred to as existing in the monastery of Lobia; others speak of it as near the bridge; while in others it clearly appears that a palace existed in the Capitol. Thus Raterio, bishop of Verona in the tenth century, speaks of “ascending to that strong place called the palace”.‡ Venturi§ agrees with Maffei|| in supposing that this palace extended from the summit of the hill down to the banks of the Adige; and they endeavour to identify this with the PALATIUM shown in the ancient plan of Verona, and with the ancient seal of the city, given at the head of this article, which, they pretend, bear a striking resemblance to each other. A glance at the two representations, however, is sufficient to show the futility of this statement; and there appears every reason to concur in the opinion of the earlier antiquaries, that this seal represents the palace in the Capitol, rather than that on the banks of the Adige,¶ shown on the ancient plan. Beneath the palace is a line of battlements, to signify the castle, below which is a double colonnade, which may well be taken for the Ambulacrum pensile; and, considering the beauty and importance of this monument, we can scarcely imagine an object which would be more suggestive of the grandeur of the city, and more likely to be adopted for such a commemorative purpose. The seal, formerly in the possession of the Moscardo family, is, unhappily, now lost; and it would appear from the following paragraph, that the drawing of it given us by Maffei and Dionisi,** has been slightly altered:†† “Nel secondo piano ove

* Panvinus, *Ant. Ver.*, iv, 18.

† The modern road, between the theatre and the river.

‡ Maffei, i, 445.

§ *Compend.*, p. 121.

|| *Ver. Illust.*

¶ Known by the name of “Corte della Duca”. (*Suppl. alla Cronica di Zagata*, vol. ii, Pt. ii, p. 237.)

** Dionisi, *Dell' origine della Zecca di Verona*, 8vo., 1776.

†† This, however, is not very clear. The word *aggiunte* signifies merely that

furono aggiunte le lettere, par che fossero logge architravate, dalle quali altresì principesca fabrica si dimostra: ma le colonne nell' originale son tonde, e più piccole, e meno distante, che nella stampa non apparisce".* Connected with the castle,† were subterranean vaults, which are referred to by the anonymous author of the *Rhythmus Pipinianus*,‡ and by the author of the ancient plan, who says,—

"De summo montis Castrum prospectat in urbem,
Dedales factum arte, vilsque tetræ."

NAUMACHIA.

The third feature of the theatre of Verona is the Naumachia. The bridge above the theatre is called the Ponte della Pietra; at an equal distance below the theatre was formerly another bridge, the Ponte Emilio:

"Castro magno et excelso firma propugnacula,
Pontes lapideos fundatos supra flumen Athesis,
Quorum capita pertingant in urbem ad oppidum."§

The basin of water between these two bridges formed the Naumachia. All this is considered as a *sogno* by Maffei, who doubts the existence, at any time, of this second bridge; but when we consider that this able historian mistook the ruins of the theatre for those of the palace of Theodoric, we need not express surprise that he did not recognize these less evident remains.

the letters were added on the seal, and did not exist in the original building; but where he speaks of the smallness and roundness of the columns, it is difficult to determine whether he refers to the original building or to the original seal.

* *Ver. Illust.*, i, 448.

† This castle was succeeded by one built in the middle ages by Giovanni Galeazzo, so that with these alterations, and the continual crumbling away of the face of the hill, the terraces and loggie had become more and more buried and concealed, previous to the excavations by Sig. Monga.

‡ *Rhythm. Pipin.*, Stanza III.

§ *Id.*, Stanza VII.

But even he cannot deny that fragments of ruins exist along the whole bank of the Adige, and that masses, like small rocks, lie in the bed of the river at each extremity.* The central position of this naval theatre admirably fitted it for the purposes to which it was intended ; it being very common to convert the principal area of a city into a temporary Naumachia. An instance of this occurs in the neighbouring city, Padua, the inhabitants of which having captured the fleet of Cleonymus, king of Lacedæmon, established the yearly exhibition of a sea-fight in the river, which runs through their city, on the anniversary of that victory.† This portion of the structure causes the theatre of Verona to be regarded with especial interest, as it is the only example of the ancient Naumachia which is known to exist at the present day.

The northern bridge, known by the name of the Ponte della Pietra, still preserves two arches, and part of another, entire. On the keystone of the second arch is a figure of Neptune, of Parian marble. Though called merely the Ponte della *pietra*, the construction is of marble ; and in the old plan of Lobia it bears the title of *Pons Marmoreus* ; and it would seem that this appellation was given to it, not on account of its masonry, but because it was ornamented with a marble colonnade, clearly shown in the plan of Lobia, and which was probably that built by Theodoric, for communication with his palace. Liutprand (ii, 1) calls it a marble bridge of wonderful workmanship, and prodigious magnitude. The bridge was broken in 1512, and restored by Fra Giocondo in 1521.‡ Both bridges were ornamented with beautiful bas-reliefs.§ The southern bridge was called Militare and Rotto, though the more general name was the Pons Æmilius, from its being in a line with the Strada del Corso. It communicated with the church of S^a Libera,|| or

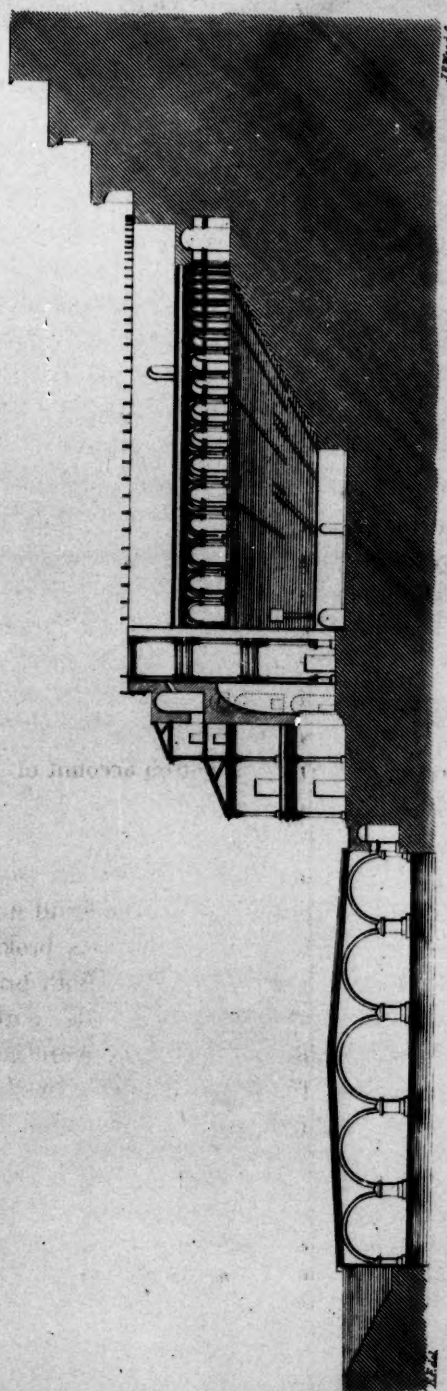
* Maffei, iii, 64.

† Liv., x, 2.

‡ Da Persico, *Verona e la sua Provincia*. 4to., Ver., 1838.

§ Sarayna, *Dell' origine, &c. di Ver.*, p. 9.

|| Id. Girol. Dalla Corte, *L' Istoria di Ver.*, 1596.

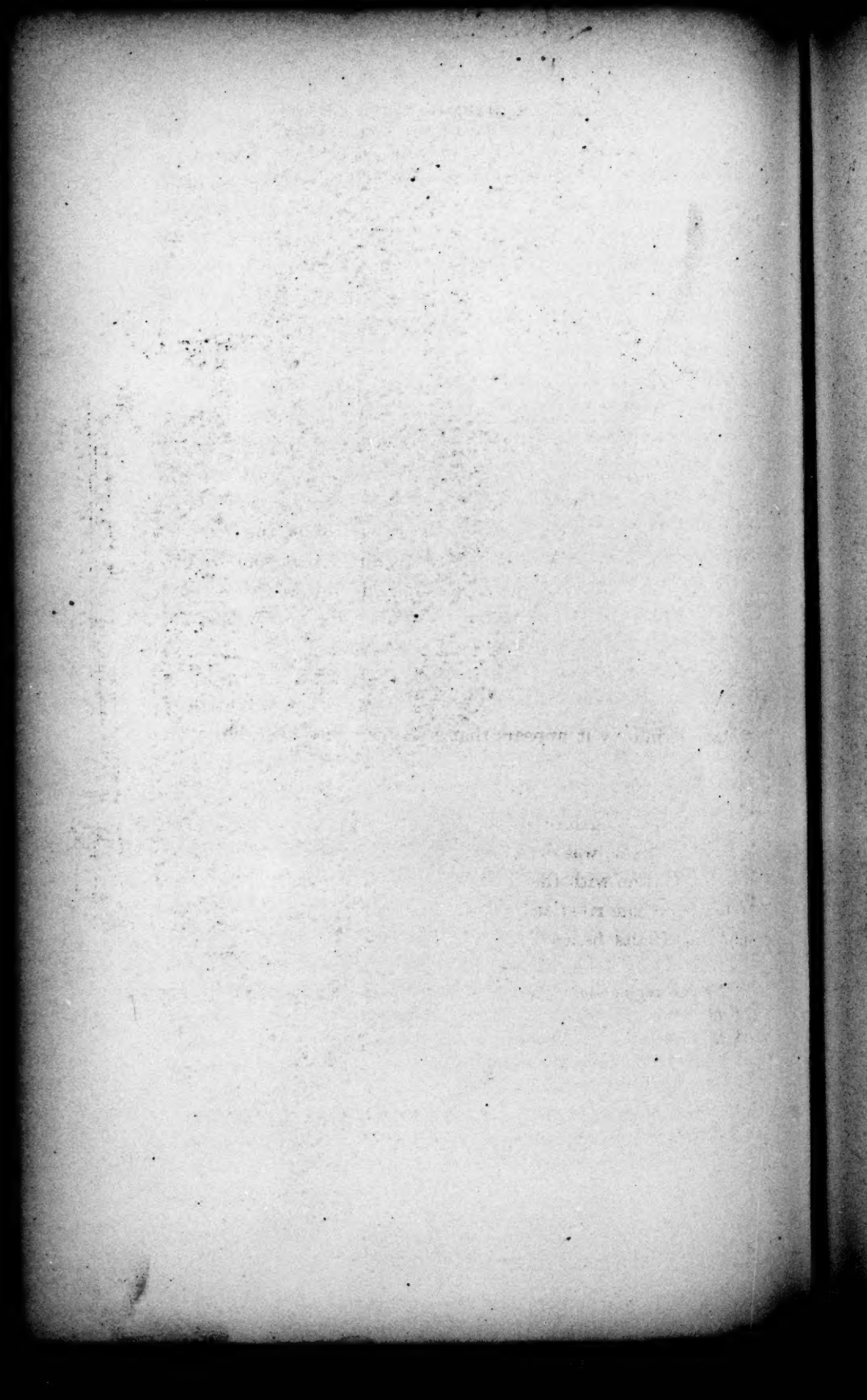


THEATRE AND NAUMACHIA OF VERONA.

FROM AN UNPUBLISHED DRAWING BY PALLADIO.

IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.





the monastery of the Redentore,* or the church of S. Faustino,† or the hospital of S. Apollonio, now S^a Maria in Organo.‡ These churches are all close together. (See the plan of Verona in Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi di Verona*, 1757; tav. v, p. 56.) In the plan of the theatre by Cristofali (see p. 180), (A) to (B) indicates the site of the convent and cloister of S. Bartolomeo; (C) the church of SS. Siro and Libera; and (D) the church of the Redentore.

The bridge was destroyed, in 1158,§ by an inundation of the Adige; but several writers concur in stating that vestiges of this bridge might be seen at either extremity, in their time.¶ Maffei, as we have seen, testifies to the masses of ruin appearing in the water like so many rocks.¶ Some of these have since been removed, in order to clear the bed of the river.** One author, even so late as 1830,†† affirms that some of the piles might be perceived when the water is low, and that many stones were dug up from one of the piers, with which the campanile of S. Anastasius was erected. This bridge has been replaced by the Ponte Nuovo, lower down. Other bridges are referred to in an inscription over the door of the church of S. Stefano, whereby it appears that "pontes omnes, excepto lapideo", were swept away by an inundation of the Adige in 1238, in the nineteenth year of Frederick II.‡‡

The whole length of quay between the bridges, on the east side of the river, was occupied by a covered arcade, the roof of which was even with the roadway. Not only are some of these arches next the river still preserved, but several of the corresponding vaults beneath the Regaste are yet entire, and made

* Da Persico, *Verona*, etc., p. 187. † Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*, etc., p. 85.

‡ *Id.*, p. 62.

§ Da Persico, p. 187. Moscardo, *Ist. di Ver.*, p. 16. Compare Sarayna, p.

¶ Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*.

¶ Canobio, cited by Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*, p. 85.

¶ *Ante*, p. 192.

** Pinali, *Relaz.*, p. 62.

†† Da Persico, *Verona e la sua Provincia*.

‡‡ Zagata, *Cronica*, Annotaz., Pt. II, vol. II, p. 241.

use of as cellars by the neighbouring inhabitants.* The arcade next the river is shown by Cristofali, Venturi,† and Palladio; while Caroto furnishes us with its measured detail, by which it appears that the piers are 6 feet square. (See also Maffei and Canobio.‡) Above this rose the Postscenium of the theatre, which was so arranged that its openings served as loggie for the accommodation of the spectators of the Naumachia.§

At each extremity of this quay was a fountain, the water of which flowed into the basin. That at the northern extremity was supplied by subterranean conduits from Parona, three miles from Verona; the other from Montorio, a village at like distance.|| Various marine animals and monsters, as Tritons, fish, etc., which are to be seen in various parts of the city, as in the Spezzaria del Giglio, in the house of the Conti Giustini, at S^a Maria della Scala, and in the Capuchin convent, are supposed to have formed part of the ornaments of the Naumachia;¶ but this appears improbable. On the opposite side of the river, and facing the theatre, Palladio shows a row of nineteen seats. Whether the great architect found any traces of these, I cannot state; but Canobio, in his *Annali*, records that one Francesco Genovese, who held a house near the convent of S. Anastasius, having occasion to rebuild it, discovered several of these seats, "like so many steps"; and that under the piazza of S. Anastasius were found several vaults with mosaic pavements.**

Serlio, in speaking of the grandeur of the Romans, refers at once to the theatre at Verona, describing the Naumachia, with the contiguous theatre and ambulacrum, as being most grand and beautiful; and then lamenting their general destruction, he observes, that the ruins are so numerous and important that "mi dà stupore à pensarvi".††

* Finali, *Relazione*, etc., p. 61.

† *Compend.*, tav. ult.

‡ *Suppl. alla Cron. di Zagata*, p. 306.

§ Canobio, *Annali*, cited by Zagata, *Cron.*, p. 307.

|| Sarayna, p. 9.

¶ *Suppl. alla Cron. di Zagata*, p. 308.

** *Id.*, p. 308. Biancolini, *Dei Vescovi*.

†† *Arch.*, lib. iii.

This building being the only one of the kind of which any traces can now be discerned, I may be excused in referring to the scanty notices which we have of Naumachia in general, even though they be, in great part, familiar to my readers. It is true there were no less than five Naumachiae at Rome; but though the sites of some are described to us, no remains of them can now be traced.

The Naumachia, properly speaking, was of later invention, and, as it were, a supplement to the amphitheatre,—the introduction of water being another element placed at the disposition of the extravagant sumptuosity of the Roman citizens. At the same time it cannot be denied but that the germs of these shows were already in existence. The Greeks and Romans had long been accustomed to the exhibition of sham naval combats, which their commanders had thought necessary for the practice and efficiency of their seamen. Alexander frequently exercised his fleets, and adjudged prizes to the most skilful. (Arrian, *De Alex.*, vii.) We learn from Appian that Mithridates acted in like manner. So also Alcibiades. (*Xen.*, i.) The Lacedæmonians, when within sight of the enemy, prepared themselves for battle by engaging in sham fights. (Diod. xiii.) Such engagements were practised, with like object, by Thrasyllus and Thrasybulus, (*Id.*); by the Syracusans, (Thucyd., vii); by the Lacedæmonian tyrant, Nabis, at Gythium, (Liv. xxxv, 26); by Scipio, (Polyb. x; Liv., xxvi, 51; xxix, 22); by Anthony, (Diod., 1); by Duilius, (Front., iii, 2); by Cassius, (Appian, b.c. iv); by Agrippa, (Velleius, ii, 79); and by King Theodoric, (Cassiod., iv, 12). Pompey, having possession of Sicily, formed a sham fight in presence of the enemy, off Rhegium, with barks of skin, in order to ridicule Salvidienus Rufus, who had attempted to cross over in such vessels. (Dio. Cas., xlviii, 19.) Naval engagements formed part of the funereal rites in honour of the dead. (Isoc., in *Evag.*; Plut., *Vit. Cæs.*; Hyg., cclxvii; Virg., *Æn.* v.)*

* Scheffer, *De Militia Navali*, iii, 2.

But though some of these sea-fights were given for amusement, as well as for the exercise of the mariners, we do not read of exhibitions of this nature, intended solely for the purposes of entertainment, till the time of Julius Cæsar. Velleius Paterculus* affirms that Cæsar gave several magnificent spectacles in the Naumachia. The first of which we have any record took place in the year 46 B.C., in the "lesser marsh".† The vessels consisted of two, three, and four banks of oars, and were divided into two fleets, Tyrian and Egyptian, manned by captives condemned to death. The crowds that came to Rome to see these sports were so vast, that many were obliged to live in tents. This basin he intended to have filled up again, and to have erected a temple to Mars on its site;‡ but though he was prevented so doing by his death, the area was filled up and levelled the same year, in consequence of various epidemics which took place at that time, attended by extraordinary natural phenomena.§

Augustus exceeded all others in the magnificence of his public spectacles. During his reign he gave forty-seven festive games, each of which lasted several days. His Naumachia was in the Campus Martius, in the vicinity of the Tiber.¶ It measured 1,800 feet in length by 1,200 in width, and held thirty triremes and quadriremes, besides smaller vessels. It was supplied by the Aqua Alsietina, called also Augusta. He sometimes used the Flaminian Circus. In one engagement the mariners, who were divided into Athenian and Persian fleets, numbered 30,000.¶ Thirty-six crocodiles are said to have been killed in the Naumachia, during his reign.** On his conquest of Antony and Cleopatra, he is said to have exhibited naval games at Misenum and Ravenna.†† Tiberius is said to have given several

* ii, 56, 1. † Suet. J. C. 39. Dion Cass., xliii, 23. ‡ Suet., J. C., 44.

§ Dion Cass., xlv, 17. ¶ Suet., Aug., 43. Tacit., xii, 56; xiv, 15.

¶ Mon. Ancyrr., tab. i; Statius, iv, 4; Front., lib. i.

** Tacit., xv, 37. †† Marliani, Urb. Rom. Topog.

"magnificent spectacles" in the Naumachia;* but we are not furnished with any of their details.

In the year of our Lord 50, the emperor Claudius determined to give a naval spectacle on Lake Fucinus, previously to its proposed drainage into the river Liris. The lake was twenty-six miles in circumference, yet the hills, like one immense amphitheatre, were lined with spectators, some of whom came even from Rome. The emperor surrounded the lake with a wooden wall, and erected stages and seats. The mariners, nineteen thousand in number, consisted of men condemned to death; and to prevent their deviation from the fight, the banks were lined with rafts of timber, on which were stationed the prætorian guards, with redoubts from which to propel stones and missives of all descriptions. Claudius and Nero attended in military costume, and Agrippina in a magnificent chlamys interwoven with pure gold. The hostile fleets, which took the names of Sicilian and Rhodian, consisted of fifty vessels on each side, twelve of which were of three, and some even of four, banks of oars. The signal for charge was given by a silver Triton, on which the gladiators cried out with one voice, "Hail Emperor! Dying men salute you." To whom Claudius answered, "Health to you also"; which gracious answer they interpreted as a token of pardon, and it was with some difficulty that they could be persuaded to begin the combat. After much courage had been displayed, and much blood shed, the survivors were respited.†

The Emperor Nero made use of the Amphitheatre, but filled it with sea water. In the year 55, he represented a battle between the Athenians and Persians; and to render the scene more animated, he introduced large fish, and other animals. A ship divided in two, and after giving forth various wild beasts, closed up again. By means of hidden conduits, the water

* Vell. Pater. ii, 100-2.

† Suet., *Claud.* 21; Tacit., *Ann.* xii, 56; Dion Cass., ix, 33; Plin., xxxiii, 19.

suddenly retired, and a battle of infantry took place.* In the year 60, he gave a floating banquet in the Naumachia of Augustus.† Suetonius informs us that he often supped in the Naumachia.‡ On occasion of another entertainment, in the year 64, he exhibited first a chase of wild beasts, then a naval engagement, then a gladiatorial fight; after which the water was again admitted, and a floating banquet prepared, called by Tacitus *ratem*, the details of which are too horrible to narrate.§ The floating fabric was moved about by vessels adorned with gold and ivory. The water teemed with river and sea fish.|| Similar excesses were perpetrated by the same emperor in the grove planted round the Naumachia of Augustus near the Tiber.¶

The Emperor Titus made use of the amphitheatre, Circus Maximus, and the Naumachia built by Augustus, indifferently. In the year 80 he filled the Colosseum with horses, bulls, and other animals, which he made to swim about in the water during a conflict between Corinthians and Corcyrians; and in another spectacle which took place in the Naumachia of Augustus, and which had been surrounded by a wood by Caius and Lucius Cæsars, he covered the water over with planks, on which he exhibited a gladiatorial engagement, and then a chase of wild beasts; on the second day, chariot-races; on the third day, a naval battle of thirty thousand men, after which a battle of infantry. The Athenians having conquered the Syracusans, landed on the island, and gave assault to a city. The games lasted one hundred days. At the conclusion, Titus threw among the people small wooden balls, which contained orders on his treasurer to pay the bearer houses, garments, gold and silver vessels, horses, slaves, etc.**

Domitian represented a naval engagement in the Colosseum by torch light. He also dug a large lake near the Tiber, and

* Suet., in *Nero.*, 12; Dion Cass., lxi, 9; Mart., *De Spectac.*

† Dion Cass., lx, 20.

‡ Suet., *Nero.*, 27.

§ Dion Cass., lxii, 15.

|| Tacit., *Ann.* xv, 37.

¶ *Id.*, xiv, 15.

** Dion Cass., lxi, 25; Suet., in *Nero.*, 12.

formed it into a permanent Naumachia with stone seats; the materials of which afterwards went to the Circus Maximus.* This was in the year 91, and took place in honour of the consecration of his beard to Jupiter Capitolinus. On this occasion the spectacle was interrupted by a heavy storm, but the tyrant refused to allow any of the spectators to retire, or to change their clothes, though he did so himself; and many of the people died in consequence. In order to console the populace for their sufferings, he gave them a banquet, which lasted all night.

But the greatest extravagance was reserved for Heliogabalus, who, not content with imitating the magnificence of his predecessors, filled the Circus with wine instead of water.†

Till when the Theatre of Verona remained entire we know not, but on the 31st April 793, an earthquake took place, which destroyed a great portion of its walls; and owing to its ruinous state and condition, as we have already seen, a further part of it fell in 893;‡ an event which caused the decree of Berengarius. Its final destruction took place on the 14th June (18 Kal. Jul.) 1195, in consequence of an inundation of the Adige.§

It has been already remarked that Palladio has copied some of his details from this theatre. It has also furnished models to Sanmichele for his balustrade in the Canossa palace; and the beautiful spiral columns of this theatre, which are now preserved in the library of Verona, have been imitated by that architect in the Bevilacqua palace.

* Suet., in *Domit.* 4, 5.

† Lampridius.

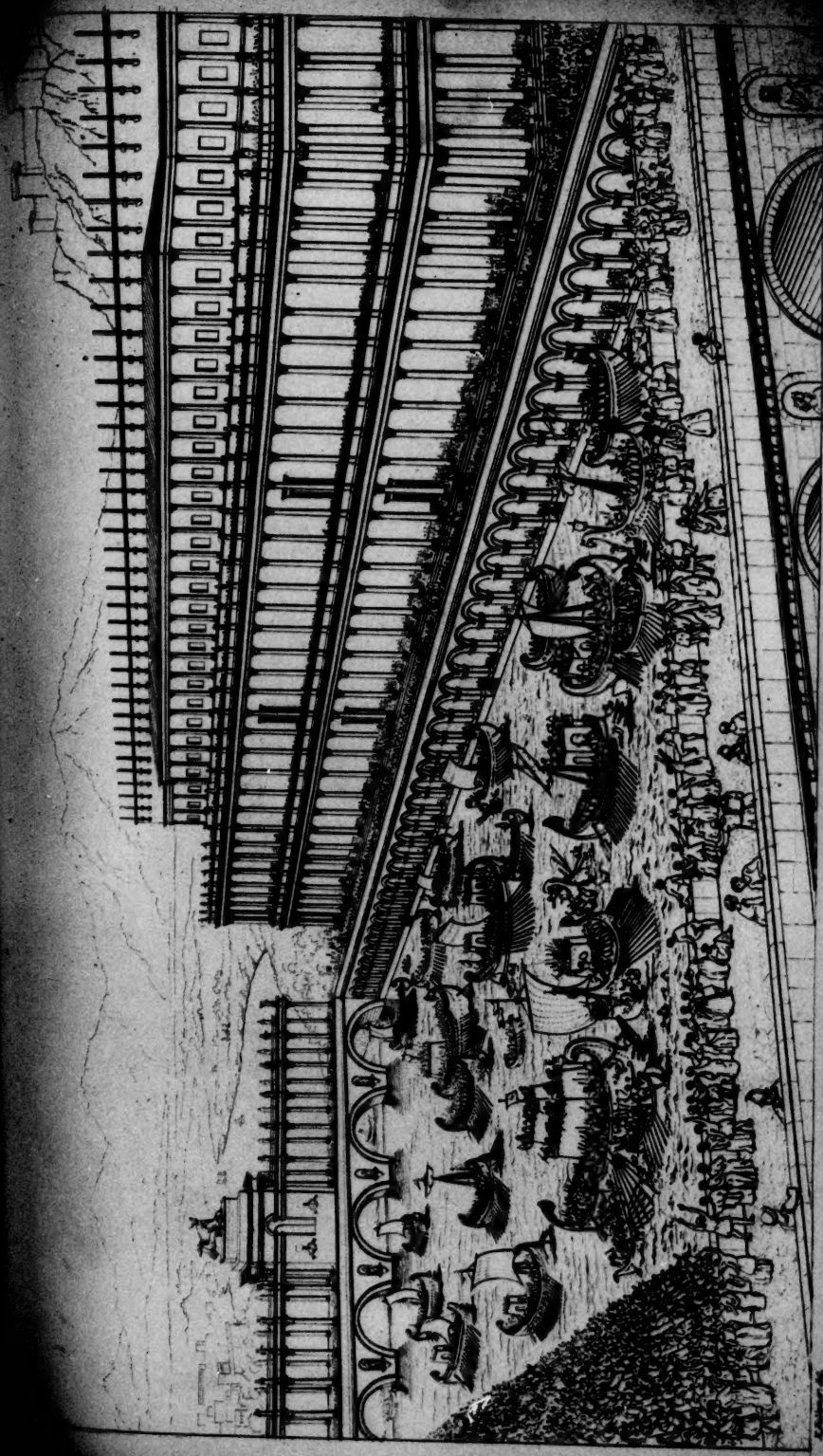
‡ Girol. Dalla Corte, *L'Ist. di Ver.*, 1596.

§ Zagata, *Cronica*, i, 191 Panvinus, *Antiq. Ver.*, p. 187.

It is now sixteen years ago since Sig. Monga commenced the excavation of this theatre. It is much to be desired that he will not be content with exposing the parts to light, but that he will cause that to be done which has been so ably carried out in the neighbouring theatre of Vicenza, viz., the careful drawing of every portion of the ancient structure. We shall then be enabled to form an estimate of the value of the drawings by Palladio, Caroto, and Cristofali; at the same time that we picture to ourselves the structure in its original state, and perhaps attain knowledge of many important details affecting the grandeur and beauty of the building, of which we are, at present, ignorant.

"Magna Verona, vale, valeas per secula, semper
Et celebrent gentes nomen in orbe tuum."

EDWARD FALKNER.



NAUMACHIA OF VERONA.

DESIGNED BY G. B. ...



XII.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE THEATRE
OF VERONA.

ON the slopes of the hill on which stood the Capitolium* of Verona, are prodigious remains of the ancient theatre, evidences of its former grandeur, and which cause us the more deeply to deplore its present ruin. This theatre and the amphitheatre, which, fortunately, is better preserved, shew the importance and power which Verona possessed under the Roman dominion; on which account it is praised by Livy† and Strabo‡ for its greatness, and by Tacitus§ for its flourishing condition and abundance. We are unable to determine the exact epoch of the building of this theatre. Sig. Consigl. Gaetano Pinali, in his description of the excavation, adduces argument to show that it was built in the Augustan age, supporting the conjecture by the inscription

OCTAVIAE

C. F.

EXSORAT.

The local historians who bring-forward this inscription forget to tell us that it is surmounted by a bas-relief containing the images of three persons, under whom are written, PATERUS, PATER, and MATER, and that it is the portrait of a lady of illustrious family.

* Cont' Orti describes this building at considerable length, in a former work, *Di due antichissimi Tempj Christiani Veronesi*, p. 57 et seq. Ver., 1840.

† Lib. iv, cap. 35.

‡ *Geog.*, vol. i, lib. v., Amstel., 1707, p. 213.

§ *Hist.*, iii, 494; tom. iii, Ven., 1708.

Nor can we regard as of greater authority the conjecture offered by Sig. Pinali, that the diphthong *AI*, which is found in some of the loggie of the theatre, is confirmatory of the opinion that the theatre is of this age. This apparent archaism was used and practised by the Veronese in many of their documents, even in those of comparatively recent period; thus showing that in authors and in monuments, *scribendi rationem multum diversam fuisse, et sui dissimilem*, in and after the time of Augustus.*

The other inscription brought forward by Consig. Pinali is equally inconclusive:

COESARE

AUGUSTO

IMPERANTE,

being, as he acknowledges, cut in a late Roman character.

It is necessary to correct another error into which Consig. Pinali has incidentally fallen, where he asserts that the loggie forming the upper arcade were the exclusive property of females, and reserved for their sole use; and that this is proved by the fact, "that the name of each owner was engraved on the marble piers of the several loggie". It so happens, however, that among the vestiges of these same loggie, which he refers to as existing in the stables of the bishop's palace, are visible the names of several male proprietors, in even greater number, as *POMP. COMPA.*, *CAPILONIS*, *L. GAVI*, *COMISIAI ARIADNES*, *M. PVLII*,.....*C. F. TABULLAE*, and *C. GAVI*; and in the theatre, adjoining the pier which has the inscription *VALERIAI SEVERAI*, we find *L. CAEL* (*Lucii Caelii*) and *PRISCI*; thus clearly showing that these loggie were appropriated indifferently to male and female proprietors.

* Fleetwood, *Prof. ad Inscr. Antiq. Syllog.*: *Labus, Museo della Reale Accademia di Mantova*; vol. iii, tav. xli, p. 237-8. Mantova, 1820.

GIO. ORTI MANARA.

Verona, 26 Jan. 1850.